

Tyrtaios and other entries

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580 Tyrtaios

by Andrew Bayliss (Birmingham)

BJN	Tyrtaeus Lacedaemonius	Tyrtaios the Lakedaimonian
Historian Number:	580	

Felix Jacoby's original brief entry for Tyrtaios included only 7 fragments of the then fourteen known fragments, only the briefest of commentaries, and no testimonia. The brevity of his work on Tyrtaeus was surely partly because Jacoby had already had much to say on Tyrtaios in his 1918 study, 'Studien zu den älteren griechischen Elegikern I. Zu Tyrtaios', *Hermes* 53 (1918), 1-44. But Jacoby's reticence in writing about Tyrtaios was also the product of his belief that nothing was known of Tyrtaios outside Sparta until the fourth century BC (see *FGrH* 580 and Jacoby, 'Tyrtaios', 1-12), and the fact that he joined Eduard Schwartz in advocating the so-called Rhianos-Hypothesis (see 580 F 5f), which was part of wider argument that all of Tyrtaios' seventh-century BC fragments were in fact Classical-period inventions.

This entry therefore has needed to go well beyond the work of Jacoby in order to include all the known testimonia and fragments for Tyrtaios. The primary materials produced here take into account the four major editions of Tyrtaios' works that appeared before and after Jacoby was compiling his own publication: E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca Fasc. I* (Leipzig 1923), C. Prato: *Tyrtaeus* (Rome 1968), B. Gentili and C. Prato, *Poetarum elegiacorum testimonia et fragmenta* (Leipzig 1988), and M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin and New York 1974). The collection here goes beyond all these publications, of which only two (Prato; Gentili and Prato) included testimonia for Tyrtaios, and only one (West) included all of the known fragments. The testimonia are arranged mostly chronologically here, but also, where appropriate, thematically. The fragments are arranged in the same order as West's edition, the most frequently cited of the recent Tyrtaios editions. NB West included one fragment (F 24) that appears here among the testimonia (T 10).

The following concordance is designed to help the reader understand the relationship between the *BNJ* testimonia and fragments and these previous editions of Tyrtaios.

580 Concordance

<i>BNJ</i>	<i>FGrH</i>	West	Gentili/Prato
T 1a	--	--	T 3, T 19, T 61
T 1b	--	--	--
T 2	--	--	T 23
T 3	--	--	T 60

T 4	--	--	T 24
T 5	--	--	T 60
T 6	--	--	T 25
T 7	--	--	T 26
T 8	--	--	T 41
T 9a	--	--	T 6, T 44
T 9b	--	--	T 16
T 10	--	F 24	T 4
T 11	--	--	T 45
T 12	--	--	T 10
T 13a	--	--	T 34
T 13b	--	--	--
T 14a	--	--	T 28
T 14b	--	--	T 29
T 14c	--	--	T 30
T 15	--	--	T 48
T 16	--	--	T 15
T 17	--	--	T 11
T 18	--	--	T 38
T 19	--	--	--
T 20a	--	--	T 20
T 20b	--	--	--
T 21	--	--	--
T 22	--	--	T 46
T 23	--	--	T 47
T 24a	--	--	--
T 24b	--	--	T 49

T 24c	--	--	--
T 25	--	--	T 50
T 26	--	--	T 13
T 27	--	--	T 14
T 28	--	--	T 52
T 29	--	--	T 54
T 30	--	--	T 27
T 31	--	--	T 32
T 32	--	--	T 33
T 33	--	--	T 59
T 34	--	--	T 53
T 35	--	--	T 56
T 36	--	--	T 39
T 37	--	--	T 55
T 38	--	--	T 57
T 39	--	--	T 2
T 40	--	--	--
T 41	--	--	T 58
T 42	--	--	T 62
T 43	--	--	T 17
T 44a	--	--	T 35
T 44b	--	--	--
T 44c	--	--	--
T 45	--	--	T 37
T 46	--	--	T 21
T 47	--	--	--
T 48	--	--	--

T 49	--	--	T 42
T 50	--	--	T 63
T 51	--	--	T 18
T 52	--	--	--
T 53a	--	--	--
T 53b	--	--	--
F 1	F 1	F 1	T 7
F 2	--	F 2	F 1
F 3	F 2	F 3	T 8
F4	F 3a, F 3b	F 4	F 1, F 14
F5	F 4, F 5	F 5	T 9, F 2, F 3, F 4
F6	F 7	F 6	F 5
F7	F 7	F 7	F 5
F8	--	F 8	T1, T 8
F9	--	F9	T 22
F10	--	F10	F 6, F 7
F11	--	F11	F 8
F12	--	F12	F 9
F13	--	F13	T 36, F 11
F14	--	F14	F 12
F15	--	F15	--
F16	--	F16	--
F17	--	F17	F 13
F18	--	F18	F 10, Fr. A col. 1
F19	--	F19	F 10, Fr. A col. 2
F20	--	F20	F 10, Fr. B col. 1
F21	--	F21	F 10, Fr. B col. 2

F22	--	F22	F 10, Fr. C col. 1
F23	--	F23	F 10, Fr. C col. 2
F23a	--	F23a	--

580 T 1a SUDA s. v. Τυρταῖος	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="1" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Biography; Genre: lexicography; Genre: Military history; Genre: Elegy; Genre: Didactic poetry; Religion: Oracle; Music Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 10th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Τυρταῖος, Ἀρχεμβρότου, Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ αὐλητής· ὃν λόγος τοῖς μέλεσι χρησάμενον παροτρῦναι Λακεδαιμονίους πολεμοῦντας Μεσσηνίοις καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπικρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιάτος, σύγχρονος τοῖς ἑπτὰ κληθεῖσι σοφοῖς, ἢ καὶ παλαιότερος. ἤκμαζε γοῦν κατὰ τὴν λε΄ Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἔγραψε πολιτείαν Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείας, καὶ μέλη πολεμιστήρια, βιβλία ε΄.</p> <p>Τυρταῖος· ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὤμοσαν ἢ Μεσσήνην αἰρήσειν ἢ αὐτοὶ τεθνήξεσθαι. χρῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν, λαμβάνουσι Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, χωλὸν ἄνδρα· ὃς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν εἶλε τῷ κ' ἔτει τὴν Μεσσήνην· καὶ ταύτην κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐν τοῖς Εἰλωσι κατέταξαν.</p>	<p>Tyrtaios, son of Archembrotos, a Lakonian or Milesian, elegiac poet and pipe-player. The story is that he urged on the Lakedaimonians in fighting against the Messenians using his songs and in this way caused them to prevail. He is very ancient, contemporary with those called the seven sages, or even older. At all events he flourished in the thirty-fifth Olympiad (640-637 BC). He wrote a constitution for the Lakedaimonians, and didactic poems in elegiac verse, and war songs, in five books.</p> <p>Tyrtaios: because the Lacedaemonians swore either to capture Messene or to die themselves. But when the god gave an oracle that they should take a general from the Athenians, they took Tyrtaios the poet, a lame man; by exhorting them to excellence he captured Messene in the twentieth year; and they razed it and classified the captives among the Helots.</p>

580 T 1a Commentary

The Suda provides us with by far the most detail regarding Tyrtaios' life and works. Much of the information contained here is unique, which is why I have listed it as T 1a rather than starting with the earliest testimony for Tyrtaios which comes from Plato (see 580 T 2). The Suda is the only source to provide a patronymic for Tyrtaios, and the only one to link him to Miletos. The Suda also provides the only explicit testimony regarding the content and extent of Tyrtaios' writings. Whereas other sources for Tyrtaios speak vaguely of his "poems", "airs", or "verses", the Suda here provides clear testimony that Tyrtaios wrote a constitution

for the Lakedaimonians, didactic poems in elegiac verse, and war songs in five books. Tyrtaios' constitution is presumably the work that came to be known as the *Eunomia*, a title which can be understood to mean "a condition of the state in which citizens obey the law" (A. Andrewes, 'Eunomia', *CQ* 32 (1938), 89) or "respect for the established law" (M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 184). West (*Studies*, 12) speculates that Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* was the literary publication of speeches that were delivered at the time that he was active in Sparta.

Very little of Tyrtaios' writings described here have survived. Rockwell once stated that we have "about one hundred and fifty elegaic lines...plus the word *heroes* (K. Rockwell, 'Tyrtæus: Bits of a Possible Career', *The Classical Bulletin* 52 (1975), 76). Since then we have been fortunate to gain a handful of extra papyrus fragments which brings the total to about 250 lines. But what we have still represents only a fraction of Tyrtaios' output as described by the Suda.

We can only speculate as to why so little of Tyrtaios' work has survived. The sheer number of testimonia included here suggests that it was not because Tyrtaios' work was not read outside Sparta. It has been suggested that no critical text of Tyrtaios' work was produced in Alexandria based on the fact that no author who quotes Tyrtaios gives any details about division into books (E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*¹ (Stockholm 1965), 45; D.E. Gerber, 'Elegy', in D.E. Gerber (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* (Leiden 1997), 103). But the Suda's claim that his work comprised five books might suggest otherwise.

The lack of detail about Tyrtaios' work may be due to perceptions of its quality, for while some modern scholars see Tyrtaios as an innovator (W. Jaeger, 'Tyrtæus on True Aretē', in *Five Essays* (Montreal 1966), 103-142 = 'Tyrtaios über die wahre ἀρετή', *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist.Kl.* 23 (1933), 537-68; H. J. Shey, 'Tyrtæus and the Art of Propaganda', *Arethusa* 9 (1976), 20), and a handful of ancient commentators saw Tyrtaios as a worthy companion to Homer (see Horace 580 T 30 and Quintilian 580 T 31, T 32), later ancient commentators tended to make rather unflattering comparisons with Homer (see Dio Chrysostomos 580 T 13a; Themistios 580 T 38; Eustathius 580 T 47, T 48, T 49), or negative comments about the utility of his work altogether (see Aelian 580 T45).

The Suda here attempts to provide a date for Tyrtaios, but does not inspire much confidence by offering three possibilities which all clash. The suggestion that Tyrtaios was "very ancient" does not entirely accord with the very specific date of the thirty-fifth Olympiad (640-637 BC) and clashes outright with the linking of Tyrtaios with the time of the so-called Seven Sages (Plato, *Protagoras* 343a, lists the Seven as Thales of Miletos, Pittakos, Bias of Priene, Solon of Athens, Kleoboulos of Lindos, Myson of Chen, and Cheilon of Sparta, although the list was by no means fixed), who all flourished in the sixth century BC; even the earliest of them – Pittakos – is thought to have been born no earlier than 640 BC.

None of the dates provided by the Suda match the "canonical version" of early Spartan history, according to which Tyrtaios led the Spartans in the second Messenian War during the first half of the seventh century BC (Pausanias 4.23.1 dates the final conquest of Messenia to the twenty-eighth Olympiad = 668-665 BC). This date is based on the conquest of Messenia taking place in the late eighth century BC, and a literal interpretation of Tyrtaios' testimony that the war took place in the time of "the fathers of our fathers" (see 580 F 5). Modern scholars have traditionally favoured a date in the first half of the seventh century BC for

Tyrtaios (e.g. P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300 to 362 BC*² (London 2002), 110 dates Tyrtaios to the second or third quarter of seventh century). But some others have been more receptive to the Suda's date of the 35th Olympiad (e.g. D.E. Gerber, *Euterpe: An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegaic, and Iambic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1970), 69), and in recent years this has become more the norm, with Rose recently suggesting that down-dating Tyrtaios is a "new fashion" (P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012), 269 n3), and Kennell recently even opted for the "later seventh century" (N. Kennell, *The Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 40).

The other information provided here about Tyrtaios' life conforms to that provided by earlier sources:

1. That the oracle at Delphi directed the Spartans to take a leader from Athens is repeated by the majority of authors, e.g. Diodoros (580 T 23), Pausanias (580 T 25), Ampelius (580 T 34), Porphyrio (580 T 35), pseudo-Acro (580 T 33), and a scholiast on Plato's *Laws* (580 T 5), despite it clashing with the Suda's own testimony that Tyrtaios was either a Lakonian or a Milesian. Tyrtaios' hypothetical Milesian origin is reminiscent of Alkman's alleged origins in Lydia. It would be more than helpful to know the source of this information about Tyrtaios given that no other authority links him with that part of the world. Gerber, 'Elegy', 103, argues that the suggestion probably arose from the fact that Tyrtaios wrote in Ionic dialect rather than Doric, and that later commentators would have naturally assumed that a genuine Spartan would have written in Doric. West earlier argued that Tyrtaios' use of Ionic dialect merely suggests that elegaic poetry came to Sparta from Ionia rather than Tyrtaios came from Ionia. (West, *Studies*, 10).

Tyrtaios' alleged Athenian origins are usually seen as a fourth-century BC fiction. How this fiction came about is unclear. Many modern scholars argue that it was an Athenian invention designed to insult the Spartans. Bowie calls it a "smear" (E. Bowie, 'Wandering Poets, Archaic Style', in R. Hunter and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Greek Poets in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 2009), 113), and his sentiments are echoed by numerous other scholars (e.g. Gerber, *Euterpe*, 69). But since two of the earliest proponents of the story of Tyrtaios' Athenian origins are Plato and the fourth-century Athenian orator Lykourgos, both of whom were known for their partiality for Sparta, the claim that Tyrtaios was originally from Athens is not as unflattering to the Spartans as first impressions might suggest. As van Wees points out, the early versions of Tyrtaios' Athenian origins are a rather odd way to embarrass the Spartans (H. van Wees, 'Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia*: Nothing to do with the Great Rhetra', in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (Swansea 1999), 4-5). It is possible that the ancient advocates of Tyrtaios' Athenian origins may have been led astray by the tradition that Tyrtaios came from Aphidna (see 580 F 3), which is perhaps a Spartan village as well as the better-known Athenian deme. It has also been argued that Tyrtaios' Athenian origins were invented by the Athenians in the fifth century when it suited them to have a good Archaic precedent for collaboration with the Spartans in order to help make the co-operation between them required by the treaty of 422/1 BC more palatable (T.J. Figueira, 'The Evolution of the Messenian Identity', in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (Swansea 1999), 230-1). It may, however, be simply the case that later doubts about Tyrtaios' origins were due to Sparta's perceived "backwardness" (D. Mulroy, *Early Greek Lyric Poetry* (Ann Arbor 1999), 48).

Whatever the case, by the time Plutarch was compiling his apophthegmata Tyrtaios' Athenian origins had become a fully accepted part of the story, with the fifth-century BC Spartan regent

Pausanias purportedly claiming that the Spartans had naturalised Tyrtaios so that a foreigner would not be their leader (T 25). Nonetheless most modern authors doubt his Athenian connections, thus Jaeger ('Tyrtaeus', 103) refers to Tyrtaios as "the early Spartan political poet", Rockwell ('Tyrtaeus', 76) calls Tyrtaios "the Spartan national poet", Hodkinson calls him a "native Spartan" (S. Hodkinson, 'Was Cassical Sparta a Military Society?' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), 116), while Fisher argued that the notion that Tyrtaios was Athenian is "unsupportable" (N.R.E. Fisher, 'Sparta Re(de)valued: Some Athenian Public Attitudes to Sparta between Leuctra and the Lamian War', in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Shadow of Sparta* (London 1994), 362).

2. The Suda's claim that Tyrtaios was lame is repeated by others, including Pausanias (580 T 25), Porphyrio (580 T 35), a scholiast on Plato's *Laws* (580 T 5), and pseudo-Acro (580 T 33), but the fact that this story does not appear in the earliest references to Tyrtaios' life by Plato (580 T 2), Lykourgos (580 T 9a), and Philochoros (580 T 17) suggests that it is a later invention. There is no reason to follow Rockwell's striking suggestion that Tyrtaios was crippled in war, travelled to Athens where he taught them about bravery and learned about hoplite warfare – "A Spartan soldier partially disabled could have taught some things to the Athenians, and learned something from them" – before returning to Sparta! (76). Odgen notes that the claims that Tyrtaios was lame and stupid match the stories of Aesop (D. Odgen, *Aristomenes of Messene: Legends of Sparta's Nemesis* (Swansea 2004), 53).

3. What actual role Tyrtaios played is debated. The Suda here claims that Tyrtaios was a "general", as do Lykourgos (580 T 9a), Philochoros (580 T 17), Strabo (580 F 8), and Tzetzes (T 20a). Plutarch (580 T 15) has Tyrtaios as the Spartan "leader" (ἡγεμὼν). But this may be the result of a mixture of romanticism and naivety. Few modern scholars would follow Bowra in arguing that Tyrtaios was a "superior officer at headquarters who had a gift for encouraging the troops" (C.M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists* (London 1938), 70). Indeed Irwin criticises the naïve approach of earlier writers such as Bowra in her recent study of exhortatory poetry (E.K. Irwin, *Solon and early Greek poetry: the politics of exhortation* (Cambridge 2005), 21). Tigerstedt speculates that Tyrtaios himself did not actually say he was a commander, and that Strabo (see F 8) was mistaken about this (Tigerstedt, *Legend*, 346 n297). It is probably best to follow Rose (*Class in Archaic Greece*, 273) in avoiding trying to categorise Tyrtaios altogether and accepting that he was "somehow active" at the time.

4. That the Spartans captured Messene after twenty years is confirmed by (or more accurately, based on) Tyrtaios 580 F 5.

The oath to capture Messene or die (mentioned also by Aristotle F 554 in the context of the story of the so-called Partheniai as an oath that they would not return to their own country until they had subdued the Messenians) is reminiscent of that sworn by the Seven who swore that they would either raze the city of Thebes to the ground or that they would die and mix their blood with the earth (Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 42-8). While not inherently implausible it would predate the earliest known formal oath in the Greek world by more than a century. Although it requires flirting with an argument *ex silentio* one would suspect that had the Spartans actually sworn an oath to conquer Messenia some mention of it would survive in what survives of Tyrtaios' own words.

580 T 1b SUDA s.v. Χρησμός (chi 505)	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="1" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Biography; Genre:	Translation

lexicography; Religion: Oracle Historical Work: n/a Source date: 10th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	
Χρησμός· ζήτει ἐν τῷ Τυρταῖος, καὶ ζήτει ἐν τῷ ἀνείλε, καὶ ζήτει ἐν τῷ Θούλις, καὶ ζήτει ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστος Καῖσαρ.	Oracle: Look under Tyrtaios, and look under “responded”, and look under Thoulis, and look under Augustus Caesar.

580 T 1b Commentary

While it tempting to think that it might be significant that the Suda chose the story of Tyrtaios to explain the meaning of the term Χρησμός, the fact that the term occurs 31 times in the work as a whole makes this unlikely.

The Suda's explanation of the term is somewhat eccentric, beginning at X 504 by citing the story that Scipio's claim “the present circumstances are the origins of wars..for we shall be in danger since we have neither people to terrify nor people by whom we are terrified” to the Romans who were confident that they would live in peace after the destruction of Carthage was an oracle rather than a mere story (for more see Plutarch, *Moralia* 88A, where is actually P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum rather than Scipio Africanus as is implied by his designation “the general”). The Suda then notes an oracle that the Athenians received telling them to bring *choai* to the unjustly deceased dead of the Aitolians each year (for this story see Aelian frag. 76g), and then at X 505 directs the reader to look under Tyrtaios, followed by Thoulis and Augustus.

At Θ 415 the Suda writes that Thoulis was king of all Egypt who was so elated by his successes that he asked the oracle of Sarapis “Tell me, you who have the strength of fire, without deceit, blessed one, who align yourself with the ethereal course, who before my reign had so much power, or who will have after me?”. The oracle responded “First [is] God, then the Word and Spirit with them. All have a shared nature and come together in one; whose might is eternal. Go with swift feet, O mortal, traversing an uncertain life”. Thoulis was then slain by his own men when he left the oracle.

At A 4413 the Suda wrote, “Augustus Caesar made a sacrifice and asked the Pythia who would rule after him; and she said, ‘A Hebrew child, ruling over the immortal gods, bids me leave this house and to go again to the bard. For the rest, go away in silence from our altars’.”

The stories of the oracles received by Thoulis and Augustus are both Christianising. But there is nothing particularly Christianising in how the Suda reports the life and times of Tyrtaios, except that in the broadest sense Tyrtaios is the saviour of the Spartans. It therefore seems rather odd for the Suda to have linked Apollo's oracle prophesising the military success of Tyrtaios with stories which prophesied the coming of Christianity. For a good survey of the traditions of poetic prophecy which includes a discussion of early Christian and Byzantine-period attempts to find Christian themes in pagan poetry see J.L. Kugel, ‘Poets and Prophets: An Overview’, in J.K. Kugel (ed.) *Poets and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition* (Cornell 1990), 1-25.

580 T 2 PLATO, LAWS 629a-630c	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="2"]]
Subject: Genre: Dialogue; Philosophy: Platonic; Genre: Elegy; Politics: Civil strife Historical Work: n/a Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Ἴθι νυν ἀνερῶμεθα κοινῇ τουτονὶ τὸν ποιητὴν οὕτως· “ὦ Τύρταιε, ποιητὰ θεϊότατε—δοκεῖς γὰρ δὴ σοφὸς ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθός, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διαφέροντας διαφερόντως ἐγκεκομῖακας—ἤδη οὖν τυγχάνομεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁδε καὶ Κλεινίας ὁ Κνώσιος οὕτως συμφερόμενοι σοὶ περὶ τούτου σφόδρα, ὥς δοκοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν ἀνδρῶν ἢ μή, βουλόμεθα σαφῶς εἶδέναι. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν· ἄρα εἶδη δύο πολέμου καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἡγῇ καὶ σὺ σαφῶς; ἢ πῶς; πρὸς ταῦτ’ οἶμαι κἂν πολὺ φαυλότερος εἴποι Τυρταίου τις τάληθές, ὅτι δύο, τὸ μὲν ὃ καλοῦμεν ἅπαντες στάσιν, ὃς δὴ πάντων πολέμων χαλεπώτατος, ὥς ἔφαμεν ἡμεῖς νυνδὴ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πολέμου θήσομεν οἶμαι γένος ἅπαντες ᾧ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός τε καὶ ἀλλοφύλους χρώμεθα διαφερόμενοι, πολὺ πρᾶότερον ἐκείνου.</p>	<p>Come now, let us together enquire of the poet on this subject: “O Tyrtaios, most divine poet – for you seem indeed to us to be wise and good, because you have extolled excellently those excelling in war – so now we happen to be, both I and this man (Megillos) and Kleinias the Knossian here, very much in harmony with you concerning this, as we suppose; but if we speak of the same men or not we wish to know clearly. So tell us, do you recognise two distinct forms of war, just as we do? Regarding this I think even one inferior to Tyrtaios might say truthfully that there are two, one which all we call “stasis”, which indeed of all wars is the most bitter, as we said just now; and the other kind of war, I suppose, is that which we all engage in when quarrelling we attack outside, foreign enemies which is much milder than the other.</p>

580 T 2 Commentary

Plato’s Athenian here speaks of Tyrtaios as “the divine poet” and asks Megillos the Spartan and Kleinias the Knossian whether they would agree that there were two types of war – internal war i.e. stasis, and war against outside enemies. Kleinias responds Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; (“For how not?”). The Athenian then goes on to cite Tyrtaios 580 F 12 to show that Tyrtaios praises those who fight in foreign wars rather than those who are engaged in civil strife.

It is significant is that Plato cites Tyrtaios here, for he is the first writer known to have cited Tyrtaios, despite the fact that he was writing roughly three centuries after Tyrtaios’ *floruit*. Tyrtaios’ late appearance in the record has led some scholars to doubt his very existence (E. Schwartz, ‘Tyrtaeos’, *Hermes* 34 (1899), 428-68). But few, if any, modern scholars would today doubt Tyrtaios’ authenticity. For more on this see 580 F 5f.

580 T 3 SCHOL Plato Laws 629a	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="3"]]
Subject: Genre: National history; Religion: Oracle; Philosophy: Platonic Historical Work: n/a	Translation

Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	
<p>ὁ Τύρταιος οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐγένετο, εὐτελὴς τὴν τύχην· γραμματιστὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ χωλὸς τὸ σῶμα, καταφρονούμενος ἐν Ἀθήναις. τοῦτον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους εἶχον τὴν μάχην καὶ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ κατέστησαν πολλῇ, ὥς δὴ ἱκανοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου πρὸς τὸ συνιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελές· αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψε χρήσασθαι συμβούλῳ.</p>	<p>This Tyrtaios was an Athenian, of humble station; for he was a schoolmaster, and lame in body, and held in disdain in Athens. Apollo advised the Lakedaimonians to send for this man when they were bearing the war against the Messenians and were in great perplexity, as he would be sufficient for them to see what would be to their advantage. For Apollo commanded them to utilise him as their advisor.</p>

580 T 3 Commentary

The scholiast here is explaining the identity of Tyrtaios who has appeared suddenly in Plato's *Laws*. He states that Tyrtaios was a lame Athenian schoolmaster not esteemed in his homeland, and that the god Apollo advised the Spartans to take Tyrtaios as their leader (for more on this see 580 T 1a).

Unlike some of our other sources, which give Tyrtaios the role of general or leader (see 580 T 15, T 19, T 37, T 41, F 8), the scholiast here makes Tyrtaios merely the Spartans' "advisor" (*symbolos*). This perhaps relates to other claims that Tyrtaios "inspired" the Spartans with his music (see 580 T 22, T 24c, T 30, T 40, T 42) and "reconciled" them (see 580 T 27, T 29, F 1).

580 T 4 Plato <i>Laws</i> 630c-d	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="4"]]
Subject: Genre: Dialogue; Philosophy: Platonic; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: n/a Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ποῖ δὴ τελευτᾷ νῦν ἡμῖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος, καὶ τί φανερόν ποτε ποιῆσαι βουλευθεὶς λέγει ταῦτα; δῆλον ὅτι τόδε, ὥς παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ὁ τῇδε παρὰ Διὸς νομοθέτης, πᾶς τε οὗ καὶ μικρὸν ὄφελος, οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θήσει τοὺς νόμους· ἔστι δέ, ὥς φησιν Θεόγνις, αὕτη πιστότης ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἣν τις δικαιοσύνην ἂν τελέαν ὀνομάσειεν. ἦν δ' αὖ Τύρταιος ἐπῆνεσεν μάλιστα, καλὴ μὲν καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν κεκοσμημένη τῷ ποιητῇ, τετάρτη μέντοι ὁμῶς ἀριθμῷ τε καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ τιμῆ εἶναι λέγοιτ' ἂν</p>	<p>What then is the conclusion of our discourse, and what does it mean to clarify when it states these things? That this is clear: both the Zeus-sent lawgiver here (Crete), and every one of even little worth, will always establish laws with a view more than everything to nothing else than to the highest virtue. and this is, as Theognis says, "loyalty in danger", which one might call "perfect justice". But what Tyrtaios mostly commends, both good and honoured in due measure by the poet, nevertheless might be said rightly to be honoured fourth in order</p>

ὀρθότατα.	and esteem.
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580 T 4 Commentary

Plato's Athenian here claims that the type of courage Tyrtaios commends is less important than wisdom, prudence and justice. The Cretan responds that they are throwing away their lawgivers if they diminish the importance of courage. The Athenian counters his complaints by arguing that it is mistake to assume that Minos and Lykourgos laid down all legal usages with a view to war.

580 T 5 SCHOL Plato Laws 630a	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="5"]]
Subject: Philosophy: Platonic; Genre: Lexicography Historical Work: n/a Source date: post 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἀττικοῦ ὥς Ἀθηναῖος λέγει, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πρὸς Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν παραβάλλον τὸν Τυρταῖον, τὸ ἀληθὲς περὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐφύλαξεν καὶ τὸν Θεόγνιν καὶ ξένον ὄντα προέκρινεν. τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ταύτης μὲν εἶναι τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ἀπελθόντα δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν, ὥς ἱστορία ἔχει, γενέσθαι νόμῳ Μεγαρέα ἐκεῖ, ὥς καὶ τὸν Τυρταῖον Λακεδαιμόνιον;</p>	<p>For, instead of an Attic writer, Plato denies he is an Athenian, and furthermore, by comparing him to Tyrtaios, an Athenian, he preserved the validity of his judgement, and he decided beforehand that Theognis was a foreigner. But what prevented him from being from this Megara, and having gone to Sicily to become a Megarian there by law, as the account has it, just as Tyrtaios became a Lakedaimonian?</p>

580 T 5 Commentary

The scholiast here grapples with the remarkable claim by Plato (*Laws* 630a) that the poet Theognis was from Megara Hyblaia in Sicily rather than Nisaian Megara on the Isthmus of Corinth (D.E. Gerber, ‘Elegy’, in D.E. Gerber (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* (Leiden 1997), 121; T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy, *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the polis* (Baltimore 1985), 123-4). The modern scholarly consensus is that Plato was wrong, and that Theognis did come from Nisaian Megara (Gerber ‘Elegy’, 121).

The scholiast is adamant that Theognis is Athenian, and concludes that Theognis must have originated in what he earlier calls “Attic Megara” before becoming a citizen of Megara Hyblaia. Harpokration (s.v. Theognis) likewise uses the designation “Attic Megara” to distinguish Theognis’ birthplace from Megara Hyblaia. No earlier writers link Theognis with Athens, and no Attic locale named Megara is known. Presumably both these writers mistakenly think that Nisaian Megara is in Attica because of the close proximity between Megara and Athens. The closeness of the two *poleis* can be seen in the fact that Pausanias (1.40-44) describes the city of Megara and the port of Nisaia between his description of Eleusis safely in Attica, and Aigosthena, a fortress on the Classical-period border between the

two independent *poleis*. They are so close that today the modern town of Megara lies in the modern regional unit of “West Attica” (Περιφερειακή ενότητα Δυτικής Αττικής).

The scholiast justifies his claim that Theognis could have been Athenian before becoming a citizen of Sicilian Megara, citing the unreliable story of Tyrtaios being a naturalised Spartan as a precedent (see 580 T 1a). The claim that Tyrtaios became a Lakedaimonian “by law” matches the Spartan saying by the regent Pausanias explaining that the Spartans had made Tyrtaios a citizen so that they would never call a foreigner their leader (580 T 15).

580 T 6 PLATO, LAWS 666e-667a	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="6"]]
Subject: Genre: Dialogue; Philosophy: Platonic; Education; Historical Work: n/a Source date: 360 BC Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν ἄστεσι κατωκηκότων, ἀλλ’ οἶον ἀθρόους πώλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθε· λαβὼν δ’ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῶν συννόμων σπάσας σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα, ἵπποκόμον τε ἐπέστησεν ἰδίᾳ καὶ παιδεύει ψήχων τε καὶ ἡμερῶν, καὶ πάντα προσήκοντα ἀποδίδους τῇ παιδοτροφίᾳ ὅθεν οὐ μόνον ἀγαθὸς ἂν στρατιώτης εἴη, πόλιν δὲ καὶ ἄστη δυνάμενος διοικεῖν, ὃν δὴ κατ’ ἀρχὰς εἵπομεν τῶν Τυρταίου πολεμικῶν εἶναι πολεμικώτερον, τέταρτον ἀρετῆς ἀλλ’ οὐ πρῶτον τὴν ἀνδρείαν κτῆμα τιμῶντα ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, ἰδιώταις τε καὶ συμπάσῃ πόλει.	For the <i>politeia</i> you have is of the military camp, not that of those who have settled in cities, and you keep the young men like masses of colts grazing pasture in a herd, and no one of you takes his own, dragging him from the pastures angering him excessively and vexing him, and installs a private groom and trains him, rubbing him down and stroking him, and giving him everything that is proper for child-rearing, so that he might become not just a good soldier, but able to manage a polis and city, indeed someone who, as we said at the first, is more warlike than the warriors of Tyrtaios, esteeming courage as the fourth element of virtue, but not the first, always and everywhere, both in private and in the whole state.

580 T 6 Commentary

The notion that Classical Sparta was like a military camp is a metaphor used by both ancient and modern writers. Thus Isokrates has Archidamos claim “the *politeia* which we have established is like a military camp” (*Archidamos* 81), and Hooker argues “the discipline for which Spartan soldiers were famous...was inculcated in the camp-like conditions of their city” (J.T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans* (London 1980), 135). This passage appears no different, with Hodkinson claiming that it “labels Crete and Sparta as military societies who train their citizens to place bravery above other values” (S. Hodkinson, ‘Was Classical Sparta a Military Society?’ in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), 125).

But while there is no doubt that Isokrates and modern scholars have likewise seen Plato as casting Sparta as a military camp based on this passage, some caution is required because

Plato's Athenian here actually seems to be criticising the Cretan city rather than Sparta. It is the Cretan Kleinias who responds to his criticism of their "military camp" conditions rather than the Spartan Megillos. Although the Cretan's response "you seem to disparage *our* lawgivers" rather than our lawgiver might imply that he speaks on behalf of Megillos the Spartan as well as the Cretans, he could just as easily be speaking of all Cretan lawgivers rather than as a Knossian. Perhaps crucially Megillos the Spartan remains completely silent during this exchange.

The raising (or taming) of horses is a metaphor applied to the Spartan upbringing by Plutarch, who claims that Agesilaos "was brought up according to what the Spartans term the *agōgē*, an austere lifestyle, full of hardships, but also one designed to train young men to obey orders. It was for this reason, we are told, that Simonides applied to Sparta the epithet 'man-taming', because the effect of her customs was above all to make her citizens obedient to the laws, like horses which are broken in as young as possible" (Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 1). Plutarch's gloss on Simonides was no doubt at least in part influenced by the fact Spartan boys were said to have been enrolled either in a "pack" (*agela*) or a "herd" (*boua*). For more on these terms see J. Ducat, *Spartan Education* (Swansea 2006), 77-81, N. Kennell, *The Gymnasium of Virtue* (Chapel Hill 1995), 107-9.

Plato's Athenian repeats his criticism that Tyrtaios esteems courage over what he considers more important virtues of wisdom, prudence, and justice.

580 T 7 PLATO, LAWS 858e	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="7"]]
Subject: Genre: Dialogue; Philosophy: Platonic; Politics: Constitution Historical Work: n/a Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Ἀλλὰ αἰσχρὸν δὴ μᾶλλον Ὅμηρῳ τε καὶ Τυρταίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς περὶ βίου τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων κακῶς θέσθαι γράψαντας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἦττον καὶ Σόλωνι καὶ ὅσοι δὴ νομοθέται γενόμενοι γράμματα ἔγραψαν;</p>	<p>But is it more disgraceful for Homer and Tyrtaios and the other poets to have laid down regulations badly concerning life and customs in their writings, or but less for Lykourgos and Solon and indeed all law-givers who have written works?</p>

580 T 7 Commentary

Plato's Athenian here questions whether it was worse for poets such as Homer or Tyrtaios to have made mistakes, or law-givers (*nomothetai*) such as Lykourgos and Solon. He is drawing his audience towards the conclusion that lawgivers and poets alike should take account of goodness and justice.

It is significant here that the Athenian cites Homer and Tyrtaios together as many later writers will also do (see Horace 580 T 30, Quintilian 580 T 31, T 32). The Athenian here distinguishes between Homer and Tyrtaios who are poets only, and Lykourgos and Solon who are writers and law-givers. The Athenian orator Lykourgos will later claim that Tyrtaios played a law-giver role establishing the entire Spartan *paideia* (580 T 9a). But Lykourgos'

claim was by no means a popular one amongst ancient commentators (J. Ducat, *Spartan Education* (Swansea 2006) 49).

580 T 8 PROCLUS commentary on Plato 187	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="8"]]
Subject: Philosophy: Platonic; Genre: Lexicography Historical Work: n/a Source date: 5th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>τοιαύτην γάρ που καὶ τὴν Θεόγνιδος ποιητικὴν εἶναι φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος, ἣν ἐγκωμιάζει τῆς Τυρταίου μεζόνως, διότι τῆς ὅλης ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεόγνης διδάσκαλος καὶ τῆς εἰς ἅπασαν διατεινούσης τὴν πολιτικὴν ζωὴν.</p>	<p>For the Athenian stranger says that the poetry of Theognis is of such a kind, which he praises more than that of Tyrtaios, since Theognis is a teacher of complete virtue, which extends to all civic life.</p>

580 T 8 Commentary

Like the Scholiast cited in 580 T 5 the fifth-century AD neo-Platonist Proclus notes that Plato's Athenian prefers Theognis to Tyrtaios. This is clearly a reference to 580 T 4 where Plato explains that the type of courage Tyrtaios commends "might be said rightly to be honoured fourth in order and esteem" behind wisdom, prudence and justice.

580 T 9a LYKOURGOS 1.106	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="9" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Forensic oratory; Education; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 330 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>τίς γάρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεθ' οὗ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς; κατέλιπε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία ποιήσας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν.</p>	<p>For who of the Greeks does not know that they took Tyrtaios from our city as their general, with whom they prevailed over their enemies and put in order the supervision of the young, planning well not only for the present danger but for all time? For he composed and left behind elegaic poems for them, listening to which they are trained for bravery.</p>

580 T 9a Commentary

This passage from the speech against Leokrates by the fourth-century BC Athenian Lykourgos is one of the more important texts we have regarding Tyrtaios.

First, the Athenian orator repeats Plato's earlier claim that Tyrtaios was Athenian in origin, and goes on to cite Tyrtaios F 10, thus making him the second most ancient writer to quote him. That an author of such strong Spartan sympathies as Lykourgos (see N.R.E. Fisher, 'Lykourgos of Athens: Lakonian by Name, Lakoniser by Policy?', in P. Cartledge, N. Birgillias, K. Buraselis (eds), *The Contribution of Ancient Sparta to Political Thought and Practice* (Athens 2007), 327-41) claimed that Tyrtaios was an Athenian calls into question the argument that the story of Tyrtaios' Athenian origins is inherently insulting to the Spartans (see 580 T 1a).

Secondly, Lykourgos not only claims that Tyrtaios assisted the Spartans against the Messenians (i.e. "the present danger") but also laid the foundations for later success of the Spartan state by "putting in order" the supervision of the young (*neoi*) at Sparta, and that by listening to his elegies the Spartans "are trained for bravery", thus providing one of the rare pieces of classical evidence to support the theory that Tyrtaios' poetry was a central part of the Spartan curriculum. Ducat notes that Lykourgos' claim that Tyrtaios developed the whole Spartan *paideia* had little success (J. Ducat, *Spartan Education* (Swansea 2006), 49), nonetheless he feels content to use Lykourgos' claim that Tyrtaios was a schoolmaster to argue that foreign *paidagogoi* were able to operate in Classical Sparta (*Spartan Education*, 131). For more on this see 580 T 1a, F 10.

Lykourgos' claim that Tyrtaios' poetry was required to teach the Spartans to be brave recalls Pericles' claim in the Funeral Oration that whereas the Athenians are naturally brave the Spartans need to be taught to be brave (Thucydides 2.39).

Immediately after this passage Lykourgos goes on to claim that whenever the Spartans took to the field they were called to the king's tent to listen to Tyrtaios' poetry. For more on this see 580 F 10 and 580 T 17.

580 T 9b HARPOKRATION s.v. Τυρταῖος	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="9" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Lexicography; Genre: Elegy; Genre: Forensic oratory Historical Work: unknown Source date: 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Τυρταῖος: Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεωκράτους. ὁ τῶν ἐλεγείων ποιητής.	Tyrtaios: Lykourgos in <i>Against Leokrates</i> . The poet of elegies.

580 T 9b Commentary

In his *Lexicon of the Ten Orators* Harpokration explains that Tyrtaios was an elegaic poet, and therefore overlooks his anapaests and probably also his marching songs (for more on Tyrtaios' breadth of work see 580 T 1a).

580 T 10 IG IX,1² 2: 298	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="10"]]
Subject: Genre: Inscription; Genre: Elegy;	Translation

<p>Everyday Culture: death Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC</p>	
<p>τὸμ Μούσαις, ὃ ξεῖνε, τετιμένον ἐνθάδε κρύπτει / Τιμόκριτος κόλπῳ κυδιάνειρα κόνις· / Αἰτωλῶν γὰρ παισὶ πάτρας ὕπερ εἰς ἔριν ἐλθὼν / ὠγαθὸς ἢ νικᾶν ἤθελε ἢ τεθνάναι. / πίπτει δ' ἐμ προμάχοισι λιπῶμ πατρὶ μυρίον ἄλγος, / ἀλλὰ τὰ παιδείας οὐκ ἀπέκρυπτε καλά· / Τυρταίου δὲ Λάκαιναν ἐνὶ στέρνοισι φυλάσσων / ῥῆσιν τὰν ἀρετὰν εἶλετο πρόσθε βίου.</p>	<p>Stranger, the glory-bringing dust conceals here in its bosom Timokritos, honoured by the Muses. For when the good man came into conflict with the sons of Aitolia on behalf of his fatherland, he wanted either to conquer or to die; and he fell in the front ranks leaving his father infinite pain, but he did not lose sight of his noble lessons; cherishing in his heart the Lakonian saying of Tyrtaios he chose virtue before life.</p>

580 T 10 Commentary

This third-century BC grave stele from Tyrreion in Akarnania provides us with a glimmer of information about the popularity and reach of Tyrtaios' poetry.

According to the text the deceased, a certain Timokritos, “fell in the front ranks” fighting against the Aitolians because he had taken “the Lakonian saying of Tyrtaios” to heart and chose a virtuous death in combat over life.

This is clearly an allusion to the sentiments expressed in fragments of Tyrtaios such as F 10 where death is literally a beautiful thing, and F 12 where death is the path to virtue. It also reminds us of the Spartan saying recorded by Plutarch (see 580 T 14a-c) that Tyrtaios' poetry was a good thing to slaughter the lives of young men. Although this wording prompted West to include this line as F 24, I have followed B. Gentili and C. Prato, *Poetarum elegiacorum testimonia et fragmenta* (Leipzig 1988), and D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), in including this as a testimonium rather than a fragment.

The claim here that Timokritos “did not lose sight of his noble lessons” not only reminds the knowing reader of Tyrtaios' alleged role as a schoolmaster and teacher of the Spartans, it also suggests that Tyrtaios' lines were known and perhaps recited outside Sparta. Indeed, this text has been attributed to Damagetos, who wrote several verses included in the *Anthologia Graeca* (P. Friedländer, ‘A New Epigram by Damagetus’, *American Journal of Philology* 63 (1942), 78-82).

It is tempting to think that the line “the glory-bringing dust” owes something to Tyrtaios F 10 where he speaks of the old man lying in the dust (ἐν κόνιῃ), line 24, or F 11 where Tyrtaios speaks of a corpse lying in the dust (ἐν κόνιῃσι). But the fact that whereas the dust is mentioned only twice in Tyrtaios' extant fragments while the phrase “in the dust” (ἐν κόνι, ἐν κόνιῃ, ἐν κόνιῃσι, ἐν κόνιῃσιν) is particularly common in Homer (42 times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*) demands caution in this interpretation.

580 T 11 PHILODEMOS, On Music 17	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="11"]]
Subject: Music; Religion: oracle; Genre: elegy Historical Work: n/a Source date: 110-40 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
περι μὲν τοῦ Λακε[δαιμονί]οις, ὅταν μάχησόμενοι ἐν]διδῶσιν, αὐλοῖ[ς χ]ρήσθαι[ι καὶ] λύραις, οὐθὲν ἔτι δεῖ λέγ[ειν]. τὸ δὲ Τυρταῖον αὐτοῦς [ἀν]ειληφέναι καὶ προτετιμ[ηκέ]ναι διὰ μουσικὴν ἀνιστ[όρη]τον ἔοικεν εἶναι, πάντων μὲν σχεδὸν ὁμολογούν[των] κατὰ χρησὸν αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀ[θη]νῶν μεταπεπέμφθαι, π[λείσ]των δὲ γινωσκόντων ὅ[τι] ποιητὴς ἦν καὶ διὰ ποιη[μά]των γενναίας διανοί[ας πε]ριεχόντων...	Concerning the Lakedaimonians' use of pipes and lyres, that they struck up a tune whenever they were fighting, it is not necessary to say anything more. But (that) they received Tyrtaios and honoured him above others because of his music is, it seems, unrecorded although almost everyone is in agreement that he had been sent for from Athens in accordance with an oracle, and most know that he was a poet and because of poems containing noble thoughts...

580 T 11 Commentary

Philodemos here is discussing the Spartans' characteristic use of pipes (*auloi*) and lyres. As far as Philodemos is concerned that the Spartans go to battle to the accompaniment of pipes is so well known that there is no need to say more about it. This practice is linked implicitly with Tyrtaios (elsewhere e.g. 580 T 17, T 19a, F 15, the link is explicit), and the claim that Tyrtaios was Athenian is repeated here.

That the Spartans "struck up a tune" when they were fighting is confirmed by Thucydides' testimony regarding the Battle of Mantinea in 418 BC. Thucydides (5.69) notes that "the Spartans on their side spoke their words of encouragement to each other man to man, singing their war songs, and calling on their comrades, as brave men, to remember what each knew so well", and then closer, to contact (5.70) "the Spartans came on slowly and to the music of many flute-players in their ranks. This custom of theirs has nothing to do with religion; it is designed to make them keep in step and move forward steadily without breaking their ranks, as large armies do when they are just about to join battle". Xenophon (*LC* 13) makes it clear that pipers (as well as seers, surgeons, overseers of the baggage train) were part of the entourage accompanying the king on campaign. Athenaeus (14.630f = 580 T 17) claims that "the Lakonians are a warlike people, and their sons take up the marching songs which are called enoplia. And the Lakonians themselves in wars march in time to the poems of Tyrtaios reciting them from memory".

Philodemos' comment that "it is not necessary to say anything more" is perhaps borne out by Plutarch's later claim (*Lykourgos* 21) that "anyone who has studied Spartan poetry...and has examined the marching rhythms which they used to an accompaniment of pipes when advancing upon the enemy, would not think both Terpander and Pindar wrong to connect music and bravery".

Philodemos complains that insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that the Spartans esteemed Tyrtaios for his musical prowess. Some later writers appear to have noted this, with Horace (580 T 30) comparing Tyrtaios to Orpheus and Amphion, and ps. Acro (580 T 33) attributing to Tyrtaios the invention of the war trumpet.

580 T 12 DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS 36.10	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="12"]]
Subject: Genre: Epideictic oratory; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 40-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Μόνου γὰρ Ὅμηρου μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν εἰώθασι λέγειν, αἱ δὲ ὅποτε μὲν μάχεσθαι παρακελεύονται τοῖς αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τὰ Τυρταίου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐλέγετο.</p>	<p>For their poets remember only Homer in their verses, and they are accustomed to recite them alone, but, whenever they are about to go into battle, they are always encouraged by them, just as the poems of Tyrtaios were recited in Lakedaimon.</p>

580 T 12 Commentary

Here Dio Chrysostomos (via Kallistratos) refers to the people of Borysthenes on the Black Sea. According to Dio these warlike people recite the poems of Homer just as those of Tyrtaios “were recited” by the Spartans.

580 T 13a DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS 2.29	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="13" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Epideictic oratory; Genre: Military history; Genre: Elegy; Music Historical Work: n/a Source date: 40-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γοργὸν ἐμβλέψας ὥσπερ λέων, Ἐγὼ μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ πάτερ, οἶμαι πρέπειν πολλὰ τῶν Ὅμηρου ἐπῶν πρὸς σάλπιγγα ἄδεσθαι, μὰ Δί' οὐ τὴν ἀνακαλοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐποτρύνουσαν καὶ παρακελευομένην, οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικείου χοροῦ λεγόμενα ἢ παρθένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φάλαγγος ἐνόπλου, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Τυρταίου παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν.</p>	<p>And Alexander (the Great) looked at him fiercely like a lion, said, “O father, I believe that many of Homer’s verses should be sung to the trumpet, not, by Zeus, the sounding of retreat, but the signal ordering the charge, not being sung by a chorus of women or maidens, but by a phalanx under arms, much more than those of Tyrtaios among the Lakonians.</p>

580 T 13a Commentary

Dio Chrysostomos here has a young Alexander the Great telling his father Philip in no uncertain terms that men advancing to war should be singing the lines of Homer rather than

those of Tyrtaios. This is not entirely surprising given that Alexander is said to have kept a copy of the *Iliad* under his pillow (Plutarch, *Alexander* 8).

Dio Chrysostomos is by no means the only author to compares Tyrtaios to Homer. See 580 T 7 for details.

580 T 13b ARETHAS OF CAESAREA on DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS 2.29, A. Sonny, <i>Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta</i> , 97-8	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="13" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Philosophy: Neo-Platonic; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: 9th-10th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>οὗτος ὁ Τυρταῖος Ἀθηναῖος ἦν. Ὅρῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον μαλακῶς διακειμένους ἐπιδημήσας αὐτοῖς καὶ δύναμιν ποιητικὴν εὐμοιρῶν ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς μέλη πρὸς τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παροξυντικά, ἃ καὶ προσέταξε καταρχομένοις πολέμου καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων συρρασσόντων ἀλλήλοις ᾄδειν. ὃ καὶ ποιοῦντες προθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον διετίθεσαν.</p>	<p>This Tyrtaios was Athenian. Seeing the Spartans were faint-hearted in matters of war, he visited them and, being endowed with poetic talent, wrote airs for spurring them on to Enyalios, which he also arranged for those beginning war and for those in the clashing armies on either side to sing. And by doing this they filled themselves with eagerness and they arranged matters of war well.</p>

580 T 13b Commentary

Arethas of Patras, the Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was the leading Byzantine scholar between the late-ninth century and early-tenth centuries (F. Pontani, ‘Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529-1453)’, in F. Montanai, S. Matthaios, and A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Leiden 2015), 342). Arethas was neither a writer himself, nor a critic, but rather a compiler of pagan prose texts, such as Lucian and Dio Chrysostomos’ *Orations*. Some of his own hand written notes have survived in the margins of the texts he gathered together. Recent analysis of his work on Lucian has demonstrated “how much Hellenic doctrine Arethas mastered and loved to display” (Pontani, ‘Scholarship’, 344).

Here Arethas explains that Tyrtaios was an Athenian (see 580 T 1a) who wrote war poems for the Spartans, having noticed that they were “faint-hearted”. By reciting Tyrtaios’ poems the Spartans “filled themselves with eagerness” and were subsequently successful in war. This claim may be based on Plutarch’s observation that Spartan youths “filled up with inspiration by his poems...were unsparing of themselves in battles” (see 580 T 14a)

Aside from the slightly unusual nature of the analogy that the Spartans were incited “to Enyalios” i.e. to war, this passage offers us nothing that we do not already know from other earlier sources.

580 T 14a PLUTARCH, Cleomenes 2	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="14" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Biography; Genre: Elegy; Everyday Culture: Death Historical Work: unknown Source date: 50-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Λεωνίδαν μὲν γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπερωτηθέντα ποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητῆς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν «Ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς κακκανῆν». ἐμπιπλάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐνθουσιασμοῦ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἠφείδουν ἑαυτῶν.	For they say that Leonidas of old, upon being asked what sort of a poet he thought Tyrtaios was, replied, “a good one to slaughter the lives of young men”. For filled up with inspiration by his poems they were unsparing of themselves in battles.

580 T 14a Commentary

The translation advocated here - “a good one to slaughter the lives of young men” – is new, and requires some justification. The word translated as “slaughter” here is κακκανῆν, and this passage is the only known example. The *LSJ* entry for κακκανῆν reads: “Lacon. inf., perh. stir up, incite, νέων ψυχὰς dub. in Leonidas ap. Plu. Cleom. 2, cf. 2.235f (κακάνειν codd.), 959b (κακύνειν codd.)”, and this definition appears to be based on the first half of Plutarch’s attempts to clarify that the saying means that the young were “filled up with inspiration by his poems” (in this passage), or that “he inspired in the young men eagerness with spirit and zeal” (580 T 14c).

Consequently this saying has been translated variously as “a good one for firing the spirits of the young” (R.J. A. Talbert, *Plutarch On Sparta* (London 1988), 99), “a good one to insight the hearts” (D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), 35), “a good man to sharpen the spirit of youth (F. Cole Babbitt, *Plutarch, Moralia, Volume III: Sayings of Kings and Commanders. Sayings of Romans. Sayings of Spartans. The Ancient Customs of the Spartans. Sayings of Spartan Women. Bravery of Women* (Harvard 1931), 417), “a good man to inflame the souls of young men” (B. Perrin, *Plutarch, Lives, Volume X: Agis and Cleomenes. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. Philopoemen and Flaminius* (Harvard 1921), 53), or “a good poet to whet the souls of young men” (H. Cherniss and W.C. Helmbold, *Plutarch, Moralia, Volume XII* (Harvard 1957), 319). Similarly, Brown argues that “according to Plutarch, Leonidas (if the text is right) described Tyrtaeus as a good poet for whetting the spirits of young men” (C.G. Brown, ‘Warding off a Hailstorm of Blood: Pindar on Martial Elegy’, in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 287).

But there is a significant flaw here. The word κακκανῆν would most naturally come from κατακύνω meaning “to kill” with characteristic Lakonian apocope of the κατα- to κατ- and assimilation of -τκ- to -κκ- (C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1928), §95, §243.10; R. Schmitt, *Einführung in die griechischen Dialekte* (Darmstadt 1977), 59). Texts T 14b and T 14c do not justify understanding this saying as meaning that Tyrtaios’ poetry would “sharpen” or “incite” either. T 14b reads κακάνειν which is otherwise unattested, and T 14c reads κακύνειν which cannot be correct because it means “to corrupt”. Both readings are uniformly

emended to κακκονῆν, although καλλύνειν (to beautify) has been suggested. But not only is κακκονῆν otherwise unattested, it comes from the extremely rare word κονέω which the *LSJ* defines as “to raise dust” i.e. to hasten (cf. Hesychius K 3502). The *Et.Mag.* 268 29-30: has κονέω as the equivalent of ὑπηρετεῖν i.e. to serve (in a military capacity), but elsewhere this appears only in the compound ἐγκονέω. There is the word ἀκονιτί (without dust, ‘no sweat’ as it were, without effort). But none of these fit comfortably with a definition of “stir up” or “incite”.

The verb κατακαίνω – to kill – is a much better fit. We know an aorist infinitive of καίνω, κᾶνεῖν (Dor. κανῆν) from Theokritos 24.92, so it is not difficult to accept κακκανῆν as an aorist or future infinitive here. If we accept this is actually the verb κατακαίνω the odd wording κακάνειν in T 14b could be explained away as either an example of dittography with the κα of κάνειν being needlessly repeated, or a misspelling of κατακανεῖν with the τα having been accidentally omitted. The appearance of κακύνειν in T 14c could be also be explained as a similar scribal error.

It would appear then that what has happened here is that a very obscure word κακκανῆν has been corrupted into a non-word in T 14b, and the wrong word altogether in T 14c, and that as a result commentators and compilers of lexika have been stumped by what the laconic and paradoxical saying meant. But what it actually means was that young Spartiates should learn to risk their lives, and that Tyrtaios encouraged them to go and get themselves killed. For this is what the second element of Plutarch’s attempts to clarify the saying indicate: “For filled up with inspiration by his poems *they were unsparing of themselves in battles*” (T 14a), “Because through his verses he inspired in the young men eagerness with spirit and zeal, *so that they were unsparing of themselves in their battles*” (T 14c)

Understanding κακκανῆν as meaning “to kill” would also fit well with the sentiments expressed in the surviving fragments of Tyrtaios’ poetry such as 580 F 15: “Come on! Youths of Sparta abounding in good men, sons of citizen fathers, thrust the shield in your left hands, brandishing your spear boldly, *not sparing your lives*, for that is not the Spartan ancestral custom”.

580 T 14b PLUTARCH, Moralia 235f	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="14" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Antiquities; Genre: Elegy; Everyday Culture: Death Historical Work: n/a Source date: 50-120 AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Ἐρωτηθεὶς Λάκων ὁποῖός ἐστι Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητής, «ἀγαθός» εἶπε «† κακκανῆν νέων ψυχάς».	A Spartan being asked what kind of a man Tyrtaios the poet was said, “a good one to slaughter the lives of young men”.

580 T 14b Apparatus Criticus

κακκονῆν van Herwerden
κακάνειν MSS

580 T 14b Commentary

See 580 T 14a.

580 T 14c PLUTARCH, Moralia 959a	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="14" n-mod="c"]]
Subject: Genre: Antiquities; Genre: Elegy; Everyday Culture: Death Historical Work: unknown Source date: 50-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Τὸν Τυρταῖον ὁ Λεωνίδας ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖόν τινα νομίζοι ποιητὴν, «ἀγαθόν' ἔφη «νέων ψυχὰς † κακκανῆν », ὥς τοῖς νέοις διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὀρμὴν ἐμποιοῦντα μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀφειδοῦσιν αὐτῶν.	Leonidas having been asked what sort of a poet he thought Tyrtaios to be said, “A good one to slaughter the lives of young men”. Because through his verses he inspired in the young men eagerness with spirit and zeal, so that they were unsparing of themselves in their battles.

580 T 14c Apparatus Criticus

κακκονῆν, καλλύνειν van Herwerden
κακύνειν MSS

580 T 14c Commentary

See 580 T 14a.

580 T 15 PLUTARCH <i>Moralia</i> 230d	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="15"]]
Subject: Genre: Antiquities; Genre: Elegy; Historical Work: n/a Source date: 50-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Πυνθανομένου δέ τινος διὰ τί Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολίτην, ὅπως ἔφη ‘μηδέποτε ξένος φαίνεται ἡμῶν ἡγεμών.’	When someone asked why the Spartans made the poet Tyrtaios a citizen, he (Pausanias) said, “so that a foreigner might never seem to be our leader”.

580 T 15 Commentary

The speaker here is Pausanias, the son of Kleombrotos, the famous victor at the Battle of Plataia in 479 BC. Although Plato is the first writer to argue that Tyrtaios was Athenian, more than a century *after* Pausanias was alive, by the time Plutarch was compiling his Spartan

sayings, Tyrtaios' Athenian origins and his naturalisation were well accepted (see 580 T 1a). Here we have a neat solution that allows Tyrtaios to be both Athenian and Spartan, through naturalization. But it should be noted that Herodotos (9.35) earlier claimed that Tisamenos the Elean seer and his brother were "the only people who ever became Spartan citizens". This would imply that in Herodotos' day Tyrtaios' naturalisation as a Spartan was not part of the tradition. But the fact that Herodotos does not mention Tyrtaios at all should serve as cause for some caution here.

580 T 16 POLLUX 4.107	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="16"]]
Subject: Music; Religion: Festivals Historical Work: n/a Source date: 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
τριχορίαν δὲ Τύρταιος ἔστησε, τρεῖς Λακόνων χορούς, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην, παῖδας ἄνδρας γέροντας.	Tyrtaios established the trichoria, three choruses of Lakonians, each according to age: boys, men, old men.

580 T 16 Commentary

Here Pollux claims that Tyrtaios invented the so-called *trichoria*, the three Spartan choruses of boys, men and old men. According to Plutarch (*Lykourgos* 21) at Spartan festivals three choruses would sing according to age, the choir of old men would sing "we were once valiant young men", the men would respond, "but we are the valiant ones now, put us to the test, if you wish", and then the third choir of boys responded with "But we shall be far mightier".

For more on this see Sosibios *BNJ* 595 F 5, F 8, and J. Ducat, *Spartan Education* (Swansea 2006), 268-74.

580 T 17 ATHENAEUS 14.630f	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="17"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: Military history; Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 200 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
πολεμικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τὰ ἐμβατήρια μέλη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια καλεῖται. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἔρρυθμον κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ἅδειν καθ' ἕνα <τὰ> Τυρταίου• κρίνειν δὲ τὸν	The Lakonians are a warlike people, and their sons take up the marching songs which are also called enoplia. And the Lakonians themselves in wars march in time reciting the poems of Tyrtaios from memory. But Philochoros says (<i>BNJ</i> 328 F216) upon the Lakedaimonians prevailing over the Messenians because of the generalship of Tyrtaios, they made it the custom in their campaigns, whenever they had dined and sung the paian, that each in turn should sing

πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον δίδοναι τῷ νικῶντι
κρέας.

<the songs> of Tyrtaios and the polemarch
should judge and give a prize of meat to the
winner.

580 T 17 Commentary

This passage is part of wider discussion of the nature of the armed dance practice known as pyrrhic dancing. Athenaeus claims that the martial nature of pyrrhic dance proves it to be a Spartan invention, and then goes on to explain why this is the case.

Athenaeus' "proof" that the martial pyrrhic dance was invented by the Spartans is that the Spartans are a "warlike people", and that they take up marching songs which are called *enoplia*. This leads Athenaeus to note that in wars the Spartans "march in time reciting the poems of Tyrtaios from memory". These may be the μέλη πολεμιστήρια mentioned by the Suda (see T 1a). John Tzetzes later claimed that the Spartans performed the pyrrhic dance to the accompaniment of Tyrtaios' verses (see 580 T 20a).

We know of Spartan marching songs from other sources. Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 21 notes Spartan "marching rhythm" (τοὺς ἐμβατηρίους ῥυθμοὺς), and Valerius Maximus (2.6.2) claims that these marching songs had an anapaestic rhythm. But this does not prove that the Spartans invented pyrrhic dancing. Indeed the Hellenistic-period Spartan writer Sosibios (*BNJ* 595 F 23) claimed that the music associated with pyrrhic dancing was imported to Sparta from Crete.

That the Spartans were a "warlike people" has come under recent criticism from modern scholars, particularly Hodkinson who has argued that the stereotypical image of Sparta as a military state is exaggerated (S. Hodkinson, 'Was Classical Sparta a Military Society?' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), 111-62).

Athenaeus also cites the third-century BC Athenian Atthidographer Philochoros (*BNJ* 328 F216) who repeats the claim that Tyrtaios was Athenian (for more on this issue see 580 T 1a and Biographical Essay). Philochoros' testimony that Spartans on campaign sang the songs of Tyrtaios matches the Athenian orator Lykourgos' claim that whenever the Spartans took to the field they were called to the king's tent to listen to Tyrtaios' poetry (for more on this see 580 F 10).

But while Philochoros and Lykourgos appear to agree (G. Battista D'Alessio, 'Defining Local Identities in Greek Lyric poetry', in R. Hunter and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Greek Poets in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 2009), 152 argues that Lykourgos and Philochoros "complement" rather than contradict each other), and the notion that the martial content of Tyrtaios' poetry was well suited to reciting on campaigns is irrefutable, that this practice is not recorded by our best eye witness, Xenophon, in his relatively detailed account of the organisation of Spartan military campaigns (*LC* 13) is cause for caution (E. Bowie, 'Miles Ludens? The problem of martial exhortation in early Greek elegy', in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford 1990), 227), as is the fact that Xenophon does not mention Tyrtaios at all.

This begs the question of when Tyrtaios' poetry was performed in Sparta. Many modern scholars argue that his verses would have been recited at other sympotic events. To name but

a few, Rawlings claims that Tyrtaios' poetry was performed in the citizen messes and suggests that his verses "were the favourite party piece of the mess halls" (L.P. Rawlings, *The Ancient Greeks at War* (Manchester 2007), 55), D'Alessio ('Defining Local Identities', 153) suggests that "the peculiar structure of the Spartan Syssitia would have been ideally suited for this sort of 'choral' elegy", Rösler suggests that they would have been suited to the symposion (W. Rösler, 'Mnemosyne in the Symposium', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990), 235), while Brown argues that what Philochoros calls τὰ Τυρταίου suggest that Tyrtaios' poetry became a standard not just in Sparta, but in other places in the Greek world through performance in symposia (Brown, 'Pindar on Martial Elegy', 280-1).

But other commentators appear somewhat less confident, with Bowie arguing that the poems would have been sung at "a banquet of some sort" (Bowie, 'Miles Ludens?', 224), and Rabinowitz suggesting that Bowie "makes a strong case" that Tyrtaios' poems were "sometimes" sung in a commensal setting (A. Rabinowitz, 'Drinking from the same cup: Sparta and late Archaic commensality', in S. Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Swansea 2009), 123).

Other modern scholars have focused on the role Tyrtaios' poems would have played in the notorious Spartan upbringing. Thus, Fisher speaks of "the Tyrtaios-taught Spartan *agōgē*" (N.R.E. Fisher, 'Sparta Re(de)valued: Some Athenian Public Stitudes to Sparta between Leuctra and the Lamian War', in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Shadow of Sparta* (London 1994), 378), Ducat emphasises Tyrtaios' role in the schooling boys (J. Ducat, *Spartan Education* (Swansea 2006), 145), and Cartledge talks of Tyrtaios' poems being "rehearsed" (P. Cartledge, 'Hoplitai/Politai: Refighting Ancient Battles', in D. Kagan and G.F. Viggiano (eds.), *Men in Bronze: Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece* (Princeton 2013), 76). Hodkinson has expressed even stronger doubts, stressing the fact that there is no explicit evidence that Tyrtaios' poetry was performed outside this military context (Hodkinson, 'Military Society?', 117). But common sense suggests that the Spartans must have practiced reciting Tyrtaios' poetry when not on campaign. Athenaeus claims that the Spartans recited Tyrtaios' poems "from memory", and if the Spartans only recited the poems infrequently, the competition described by Philochoros and Lykourgos would likely have been a poor one.

Philochoros' claim that the Spartan who gave the best performance of Tyrtaios' poems was awarded a prize of meat suggests that the meat portion (*opson*) was a key component of the Spartans' meal on campaign as well as at home. We know that the typical Spartan meal at home consisted of μάζα (barley patties), an *opson* (e.g. stewed pork) valued at 10 Aiginetan obols, and "the broth made from the meat" (Dikaiarchos *FGrH* F72 = Athenaeus 4.141b), and that although the Spartans had a reputation for frugality, the portions they ate were "remarkably high" compared to portions elsewhere (S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 192; see also T.J. Figueira, 'Mess Contributions and Subsistence at Sparta', *TAPA* 114 (1984), 91).

Figueira has argued that Dikaiarchos' claim that the Spartan *opson* was valued at 10 Aiginetan obols on the grounds that a cash value was required because Spartan officers coordinated the supply of armies and garrisons abroad, and their allies tended to prefer the Aiginetan standard (Figueira, 'Mess Contributions', 89; see also Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth*, 197, on the Spartans who oversaw the "centralised provision of rations" for the army). We also know from Thucydides (4.16) that the rations for the men on Sphakteria comprised two Attic *choinikes* of barley groats, two *kotylai* of wine, and a portion of meat

(κρέας), a fact which has led Figueira to argue that “even besieged they consumed more food than the ordinary Greek soldier”.

The testimony of Thucydides and Dikaiarchos combined with Philochoros’ confirmation here of the availability of an extra portion of meat as a prize here suggests that on campaign the Spartan diet might have looked quite similar to that at home.

580 T 18 SCHOL. DIONYS. THRAC. Art. Gramm. 168.8 Hilgard	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="18"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: post 1st century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ποιητῆς δὲ κεκόσμηται τοῖς τέσσαρσι τούτοις μέτρῳ, μύθῳ, ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ποιᾷ λέξει, καὶ πᾶν ποίημα μὴ μετέχον τούτων οὐκ ἔστι ποίημα, εἰ καὶ μέτρῳ κέχρηται. ἀμέλει τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ Τυρταῖον καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἀστρολογίας εἰπόντας οὐ καλοῦμεν ποιητάς, εἰ καὶ μέτρῳ ἐχρήσαντο διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσασθαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν χαρακτηριστικοῖς.</p>	<p>A poet is equipped with these four things, meter, myth, narrative and a certain kind of diction, and any poem that does not have a share of these four is not a poem; For instance we do not call Empedokles and Tyrtaios and those talking about astronomy poets, even if they employed meter, because they did not make use of what characterises poets.</p>

580 T 18 Commentary

The scholiast here denies Tyrtaios, Empedokles and those who write about astronomy the right to be called poets because they lack the qualities necessary to be what he considers a poet: meter, myth, narrative, and “a certain kind of diction”.

Empedokles was the fifth century pre-Socratic philosopher who wrote the Nature poem ‘On the origins of the world’ (so-called *Περὶ φύσεως*) and the ‘Purifications’ (*Καθαρμοί*), in epic hexameters. Clearly as far as the scholiast was concerned Empedokles’ use of epic hexameter for his philosophical work did not earn him the title of poet.

Tyrtaios employed meter and narrative (see 580 F 4), so presumably the scholiast felt that did not make enough use of myth, or that Tyrtaios lacked “a certain kind of diction”.

This is not the only time Tyrtaios is cited alongside Empedokles. The Stoic Chrysippos cited both authors in his *On the Soul* (see T 44a, F 13.)

580 T 19 PHOTIOS T 611	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="19"]]
Subject: Genre: Lexicography; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 9th century AD	Translation

Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	
Τυρταῖος: ὁ τῶν ἐλεγείων ποιητής.	Tyrtaios: the poet of elegies.

580 T 19 Commentary

Photios' testimony that Tyrtaios was an elegaic poet accords with that provided by most earlier authors. For more on the nature of Tyrtaios' writings see 580 T 1a.

580 T 20a TZETZES Chil. 1.26. 695	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="20" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Military history; Genre: Elegy; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΡΤΑΙΟΥ ΚΣ΄ Τυρταῖος Λάκων στρατηγὸς καὶ ποιητὴς ὑπῆρχεν, προτρεπτικὰ πρὸς πόλεμον γράψας ἁσμάτων μέλη, ἅπερ ἤδον οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν συμβολαῖς πολέμων, πυρρίχιον ὀρχούμενοι τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ Λυκούργου, ὥς Δίων ὁ Χρυσόστομος οὕτω που γράφει λέγων κτλ.	Concerning Tyrtaios 26: Tyrtaios the Lakonian was a general and poet, who wrote lyric airs hortatory for war, which the Lakonians sang in military engagements, dancing the pyrrhic dance, by the laws of Lykourgos, as Dio Chrysostomos somewhere writes in the following words saying etc. (F 15)

580 T 20a Commentary

Unusually for a later commentator, John Tzetzes here identifies Tyrtaios as Lakonian rather than Athenian in origin. He accords with the testimony of Lykourgos (see 580 F 10) and Philochoros (see 580 T 17) that Tyrtaios' poems were sung at the time of military engagements, but also links their performance to pyrrhic dance. This perhaps relates to the fact that Athenaeus mentions Tyrtaios' marching songs in the context of a wider discussion of pyrrhic dance (see 580 T 17).

Dio Chrysostomos' claim that the Spartans use Tyrtaios' verses "by the laws of Lykourgos" does not fit with the traditional dating of both men, with Tyrtaios placed in the seventh century (see 580 T 1a) and Lykourgos to between the eleventh and eighth centuries. But by the time that Tzetzes was writing all legislation in Sparta was seen to be Lykourgan, even if it had not always been seen that way.

Tzetzes ends by citing a fragment of Tyrtaios' poetry via Dio Chrysostomos (see 580 F 15). Tzetzes provides a slightly different version of the text supplied by Dio himself (see 580 F 15a).

580 T 20b Arethas, Bishop of Caesaria, scholiast on Dio Chrysostomos Oration	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="20" n-mod="b"]]
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2.59, A. Sonny, <i>Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta</i> 1896	
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history; Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 900 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
ἐκ τῶν Τυρταίου ταῦτα	these (are) from the (works) of Tyrtaios

580 T 20b Commentary

The scholiast here, who is most likely Arethas the Bishop of Caesarea in Cappodocia, indicates that the Lakonian marching song “Come on! Youths of Sparta abounding in good men, sons of citizen fathers, thrust the shield in your left hands, brandishing your spear boldly, not sparing your lives, for that is not the Spartan ancestral custom” cited by Dio Chrysostomos (580 F 15) comes from Tyrtaios’ works.

The passage here has been overlooked by most modern treatments of Tyrtaios. When it has been mentioned, it appears to have been miscited. D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962), 455, states that “schol. ad loc. παρακλητικὰ ἐκ τῶν Τυρταίου, which is repeated by Campbell (D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric V: The New School of Poetry and Anonymous Songs and Hymns* (Harvard 1993), 242). But this would appear to be an error based on Morelli, who paraphrases “Schol. admonet, haec παρακλητικὰ esse ἐκ τῶν Τυρταίου” (F. Morelli, ‘Schediasmata, Scholia Collectanea et Coniectanea’, in *Dionis Chrysostomi Scripta*, in J.J. Reiske, *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes* (Lipsiae 1784), 554), with παρακλητικὰ “exhortations” seeming to be a flourish by Morelli which was then repeated by Page rather than the words of the scholiast. Similarly, Morelli (‘Scholia’, 552-3) merely summarises the scholiast’s information provided in 580 T 12b beginning with “Schol. οὗτος ὁ Τυρταῖος.” before adding abbreviated versions of the rest of Arethas’ text.

580 T 21 TZETZES Chil. 4. Epistle 487 471n-491	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="21"]]
Subject: Genre: Antiquities; Music Historical Work: n/a Source date: 12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Ζαβαρειῶτα Λαχανᾶ, τοῦτοις καὶ γὰρ ἀβρύνη ἥπερ ὁ Κροῖσος θησαυροῖς καὶ Μίδας τῷ χρυσίῳ, ἥπερ ὁ Γύγης τῇ στροφῇ πάλαι τοῦ δακτυλίου, ... ἥπερ Ὀρφεὺς τῇ μουσικῇ, τῇ λύρᾳ δ’ ὁ Ἀμφίων, αἱ δὲ Σειρῆνες τῇ ᾠδῇ, τοῖς δὲ αὐλοῖς Μαρσύας, κιθαρωδία Τέρπανδρος, Ἀρίων δὲ τὸ πλέον, ... ὁ Σιμωνίδης νίκαις δε πεντήκοντα καὶ πέντε, Στησίχορος τοῖς μέλεσι, τοῖς ἄσμασι Τυρταῖος, τῇ περὶ Κάννας μάχῃ δε ὁ	Lachanes, Keeper of the Armoury, on these things you pride yourself just as Kroisos on his treasures and Midas on his gold, just as Gyges on the twisting of his ring long ago, ... just as Orpheus on his music and Amphion on the lyre, and the Sirens on their song, and Marsyas on the aulos, Terpander on playing the kithara and, what is more, Arion for the same, ... Simonides on fifty-five victories, Stesichoros on his

στρατηγὸς Ἀννίβας, ἥπερ τῷ Βουκεφάλα δε Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ μέγας, τὸν ὄνπερ ὠνησάμενος τρισκαίδεκα ταλάντων ὁ Θετταλὸς Φιλόνικος χαρίζεται Φιλίππῳ·	lyrics, Tyrtaios on his songs, the general Hannibal on the battle of Cannae, just as Alexander the Great on Bucephalus, whom the Thessalian Philonikos bought for thirteen talents and gave as a present to Philip;
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580 T 21 Commentary

Although the text here is recorded as ἥπερ i.e. “than” or “even”, it clearly should be ἵπερ i.e. “just as”. Either the text is wrong, or, as is more likely, the spelling due to there no longer being no audible difference between the two forms.

Tzetzes begins this letter addressed to Johannes Lachanes by noting that there are three types of “letter” (ἡ ἐπιστολή): forensic, exhortatory or panegyric, or encomiums and criticisms. He then goes on to summarize the contents of the first pinax.

Tzetzes then indicates that Lachanes prides himself “just as even Kroisos on his treasures”, and goes on to list a number of ancient examples of pride. Tyrtaios’ songs are worthy of comparison with the legendary wealth of Kroisos and Midas (for Midas see 580 F 12), the musical prowess of mythical figures such as Orpheus and Amphion (see 580 T 28), the river goddess Marsyas, the Sirens, and the famous mortals Terpander, Arion, Simonides, and Stesichoros.

Although Tzetzes offers different information regarding some of these subjects, e.g. and Alexander the Great (based on Plutarch), unfortunately for this study Tzetzes offers nothing new regarding Tyrtaios.

580 T 22 DIODOROS 8.27.1-2	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="22"]]
Subject: Genre: National history; Religion: Oracle Historical Work: unknown Source date: 60-30 BC Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Ὅτι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἡττηθέντες εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντες ἡρώτων περὶ πολέμου. ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. Ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προτραπέντες ὑπὸ Τυρταίου οὕτω προθύμως εἶχον πρὸς παράταξιν, ὥστε μέλλοντες παρατάττεσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐγράψαντο εἰς σκυταλίδα καὶ ἐξῆψαν ἐκ τῆς χειρός, ἵνα τελευτῶντες μὴ ἀγνοῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων. οὕτω παρέστησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς τὸ τῆς νίκης ἀποτυγχάνοντες ἐτοίμως ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸν ἐντιμον θάνατον.</p>	<p>When the Spartiates had been defeated by the Messenians they sent to Delphi asking about war. He (Apollo) ordered them to take a leader from the Athenians. The Lakedaimonians being urged on by Tyrtaios were so eager for the ranks that when they were being drawn up in battle order they wrote their names on a stick and fastened it on their arm, in order that if they died they would not be unrecognised by their kinsmen. So prepared were they in spirit to accept willingly an honourable death if they failed to achieve victory.</p>

580 T 22 Commentary

Diodoros here repeats the claim made by many other authors that Tyrtaios was an Athenian, and that the Spartans acquired him as their leader in compliance with an oracle from Delphi (for more on this see 580 T 1a). Diodoros' claim that the Spartans hoped to achieve a noble death reminds the reader of Tyrtaios F 10, which assures the Spartans that "it is a beautiful thing for a good man to die having fallen in the front ranks fighting for his fatherland".

Diodoros is the earliest of several ancient writers to claim that the Spartans were so inspired by Tyrtaios that they wrote their names on wooden sticks so that their bodies could be recognised by their kin. This claim is repeated by Polyainos (580 T 26), and Justin (580 T 35) claims that they wrote not only their names but also those of their fathers. But this tradition seems suspect. None of the earlier sources mention this, and while the use of what are known today as 'dog tags' for identifying deceased military personnel is commonplace today, they are mostly a relatively modern phenomenon. Apart from this alleged case, the only pre-modern evidence for the wearing of dog tags relates to Rome. Roman soldiers appear to have been issued with *signaculum* an inscribed lead tablet carried in a leather pouch worn hanging from the neck (P. Southern, *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History* (Oxford 2006), 133), and even that evidence is sketchy based largely on a document from AD 295 which records a Christian refusing to wear a piece of lead around his neck having already accepted the sign of God (K.R. Dixon and P. Southern, *Late Roman Army*, London 2000, 74-5). Dog tags do not appear to have been used again until the nineteenth century when wooden or brass dog tags were used in the 1850s by both Imperial Chinese forces and rebels during the Taiping Rebellion (I. Heath and M. Perry, *The Taiping rebellion 1851-66* (London 1994), 18-9).

The need for identifiers of the dead would imply that the Spartans feared that their corpses might be mutilated (P. Krentz, 'War', in P. Sabin, H. van Wees and M. Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare 1: Greece, The Hellenistic World and the Rise of Rome* (Cambridge 2007), 174). There is evidence that the mutilation of the dead was not uncommon in pre-Classical and later warfare (L.A. Tritle, 'Hector's body: mutilation in ancient Greece and Vietnam', *AHB* (1997), 123-136). Rockwell's more prosaic argument that "a company roll would become valuable" because they had recently fleshed out the citizen body with new men from the helots (K. Rockwell, 'Tyrtaeus: Bits of a Possible Career', *The Classical Bulletin* 52 (1975), 76) is not convincing (for more on this see 580 T 35).

The term Diodoros uses – σκυτάλη – in this context means a wooden stick or tally, and should not be confused with the characteristic type of coded message stick the Spartans used (Plutarch, *Lysander* 19; the Suda, Σ 718; T.A. Boring, *Literacy in Ancient Sparta* (Leiden 1979), 39-41). Polyainos also uses the term *skytalē*, while Justin uses the term *tessera*. The Suda explains that *skytalē* came to mean "the letter as well. And Dioskorides in his On Customs [says] that those making a loan in Sparta would divide a skytale, two witnesses being present, and write the contract on each portion. They would give one to one of the witnesses and keep the other for themselves". This is perhaps based on the fact that Diodoros (13.106) uses the term *skytalē* when describing the notes that were left in bags of silver Lysander sent back to Sparta with Gylippos (cf. Plutarch, *Lysander* 16).

Subject: Genre: National history; Everyday Life: Slavery Historical Work: n/a Source date: 60-30 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ὕστερον δὲ δουλευόντων Μεσσηνίων τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, Ἀριστομένης ἔπεισε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀποσιῆναι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ διειργάσατο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὅτε καὶ Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἡγεμῶν ἐδόθη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις.</p>	<p>Later, when the Messenians were in slavery to the Lakedaimonians, Aristomenes persuaded the Messenians to revolt from the Spartiates and inflicted many tribulations on the Spartiates, when Tyrtaios the poet was given by the Athenians to the Spartiates as a leader.</p>

580 T 23 Commentary

Here Diodoros repeats the information that Tyrtaios was given to the Spartans as a leader by the Athenians (see 580 T1a). Although Diodoros explicitly links Tyrtaios to the revolt by the legendary Messenian Aristomenes (for more see D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene: Legends of Sparta's Nemesis* (Swansea 2004), 53), he is the only source we have to do so. It is likely that Diodoros' source – one (or several) of the post-fourth century BC mythhistories – was using Tyrtaios as a frame of reference for Aristomenes rather than providing us with any hint that we could find some form of verification of the Hellenistic tales of Aristomenes in the lost lines of Tyrtaios.

580 T 24 AELIUS ARISTIDES 8.18	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="24" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Epideictic oratory Historical Work: n/a Source date: 117-181 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC/460s BC	Translation
<p>ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμῳ δεηθέντων ἡμῶν τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Τυρταῖον πέμψαντες; ἢ τίνες οἱ Κίμωνά ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας ἄγοντα;</p>	<p>But when we were in need in the war against the Messenians who was it who sent Tyrtaios? Or who sent Kimon leading four thousand hoplites at the time of the earthquake?</p>

580 T 24a Commentary

The Spartan speaker here is recounting reasons for making peace with the Athenians. He cites as equally compelling reasons the fact that the Athenians sent Tyrtaios to assist them in the war against the Messenians (which runs counter to many later sources, e.g. 580 T 33, 34, 35, 37), which suggest that the Athenians did not wish to help the Spartans), and the fact that Kimon helped the Spartans against the Messenians in the 460s BC. For more on the Kimon see Plutarch, *Kimon* 16-7, and Thucydides 1.102.

580 T 24b AELIUS ARISTIDES 11.65	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="24" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Epideictic oratory Historical Work: n/a Source date: 117-181 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC/460s BC	Translation
καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα, Κίμωνος εἰς Ἰθώμην ἄφιξις καὶ Τυρταίου πρὸ Κίμωνος εἰς Σπάρτην.	And finally Kimon's arrival at Ithome and before Kimon, Tyrtaios at Sparta.

580 T 24b Commentary

The speaker here is arguing in favour of the Athenians assisting the Spartans in the aftermath of their disastrous defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC (see Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.4.8-15, Diodoros 15.55-6; Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 23). The speaker recalls older and more recent deeds of the Athenians on behalf of the Spartans, starting with their protection of the Herakleidai (Paus. 1.32.6; Apollodoros 2.167-8). He then mentions the assistance of Kimon during the helot revolt of the 460s (see Plutarch, *Kimon* 16-7) and Tyrtaios' assistance before that (see 580 T 1a). He then goes on to describe the times the Spartans have helped the Athenians, noting their overthrowing of the Peisistratids (see Herodotos 5.63-5).

580 T 24c SCHOL. ARIST. Treatise Leuc 1 Jebb page+line-Hypothesis-Epigram 425,14 line 5	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="24" n-mod="c"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: post 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Τυρταίου πρὸ Κίμωνος εἰς Σπάρτην: Τυρταῖος οὗτος ποιητῆς, ὃς ἐλθὼν εἰς Σπάρτην ὀλίγον πρὸς Κίμωνος λαβὼν μελιτηνοὺς παρώξυνε Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς πόλεμον.	“Before Kimon, Tyrtaios at Sparta”: This Tyrtaios was a poet, who came to Sparta shortly before Kimon, by employing honeyed airs, urged on the Lakedaimonians to war.

580 T 24c Commentary

The scholiast here is explaining both Tyrtaios and Kimon to the reader. The fact that Tyrtaios could be described as active “shortly before” Kimon demonstrates not how close the events were (they were separated by two full centuries), but how far removed both are from Aelius Aristides who was active in the second century AD, and the scholiast who was writing even later, probably between the fourth and ninth centuries AD (E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A guide to finding, reading, and understanding scholia, commentaries, lexica, and grammatical treatises, from their beginnings to the Byzantine period* (Oxford 2007), 69).

580 T 25 PAUSANIAS 4.15.6	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="25"]]
Subject: Genre: Geography; Genre: National history; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 150 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσοντα ᾧ χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων νοῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός, τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὁπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα ᾗδεν.</p>	<p>The Lakedaimonians received an oracle from Delphi to bring in an Athenian adviser. So they sent messengers to the Athenians to announce the oracle and to ask for a man who would advise what they should do. But the Athenians, unwilling either for the Lakedaimonians to take the best part of the Peloponnese without great danger or for themselves to take no heed of the god, contrived this: for there was a schoolmaster Tyrtaios who seemed to have very little sense and lame in one foot; they sent this man to Sparta. Upon arriving he sang his elegaic and anapaestic verses both in private to those in office and as many as he happened to gather together.</p>

580 T 25 Commentary

This passage from Pausanias' myth-history of the conquest of Messenia by the Spartans contains the usual tropes that were common by his day: the Spartans asked Apollo at Delphi for advice, he advised them to ask the Athenians for an advisor, and they sent Tyrtaios (for more see 580 T 1a).

Whereas earlier versions of the story suggest nothing hostile in the relationship between Athens and Sparta, Pausanias here has the Athenians anxious not to allow the Spartans to acquire "the best part of the Peloponnese". Pausanias' wording here is reminiscent of Aristotle's description of Classical Spartan territory as comprising two-fifths of the Peloponnese (Aristotle, *Politics* 1270a). Although hostile to the Spartans, the Athenians are not wanting to commit any impiety by refusing the god's wishes. Their solution was to send "help" in the form of a lame, weak-minded schoolmaster. But the god's will was not to be denied, and Tyrtaios was able to inspire the Spartans with his elegaic and anapaestic poems despite his obvious shortcomings. Pausanias' claim that Tyrtaios recited "both in private to those in office and as many as he happened to gather together" accords with Justin's claim that Tyrtaios recited his poems before an assembly of Spartans (see 580 T 37).

Pausanias here provides us with one of only two references to Tyrtaios' s having composed anapaestic verses.

For more on Tyrtaios' anapaests see 580 T 52 and F 16.

580 T 26 PAUSANIAS 4.16.6	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="26"]]
Subject: Genre: Geography; Genre: National history; Genre: Elegy; Everyday Life: Slavery Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 150 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὠρμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, Τυρταῖός τε ἐλεγεῖα ᾄδων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἰλώτων.	The Lakedaimonians were disheartened after this blow and became eager to put an end to the war, and Tyrtaios by singing his elegies changed their minds, and enrolled men from among the helots in their ranks in place of the slain.

580 T 26 Commentary

Pausanias here claims that the Spartans were so disheartened by a defeat at the hands of Aristomenes that they were inclined to give up on the war altogether. But Tyrtaios changed their minds with his elegies, and made up the numbers of lost men by enrolling helots in the citizen body.

Pausanias' statement that Tyrtaios himself enrolled the helots differs slightly from Justin's claim that the Spartans themselves "manumitted slaves promising marriage to the widows of those who had been killed, so that they might take the place of the lost citizens not only in number but also in social position" (see 580 T 35), and Orosius' statement that they "made up the number of the lost army with the body of slaves that had been called up to freedom" (see 580 T 39). Presumably what Pausanias thought happened was that Tyrtaios' elegies induced the Spartans to make this decision.

These claims may be based on Theopompos' account of the so-called Epeunaktoi (*BNJ* 117 F171). Theopompos claims that "after many Lakedaimonians died in the Messenian War, those who remained took care, lest it become clear to the enemy that they had become destitute of men, to put certain Helots in the beds of each of those who had died. These men they later made citizens and named them Epeunaktoi because they had been assigned to the beds of those who had died". Diodoros (8.21) links the Epeunaktoi with the story of the Partheniai who colonized Taras in the late eighth-century BC.

It is most likely that Pausanias and the other later writers were splicing Tyrtaios into storylines that were part of what Jaeger calls "the jungle growth of what Hellenistic historians and poets say about the Messenian wars" (W. Jaeger, 'Tyrtaeus on True Aretē', in *Five Essays* (Montreal 1966), 104) rather than using Tyrtaios' poems as evidence for the events of the Messenian wars.

580 T 27 PAUSANIAS 4.18.3	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="27"]]
Subject: Genre: Geography; Genre:	Translation

National history; Genre: Elegy; Politics: Civil strife Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 150 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτου σιτοδεία ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ στάσις· οὐ γὰρ ἠνεύχοντο οἱ ταύτῃ τὰ κτήματα ἔχοντες τὰ σφέτερα ἀργὰ εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτοις μὲν τὰ διάφορα διέλυε Τυρταῖος·	And from this famine arose in Sparta, and with this famine, revolution; for those who held property here could not bear that their own land was unworked. And Tyrtaios solved their differences.

580 T 27 Commentary

Pausanias here claims that Tyrtaios not only inspired the Spartans but also resolved their internal divisions.

This matches the information that Aristotle provides on Tyrtaios: “And this [stasis] also occurred in Sparta during the Messenian War; and this is clear from the work of Tyrtaios called *Eunomia*: for some men being squeezed because of the war thought that the land should be redistributed”, but goes much further than Aristotle in stating that Tyrtaios actually resolved the differences that he describes. For more on this see 580 F 1.

Tyrtaios is not the only poet said to have resolved the Spartans' differences. Terpander (Suda M 701; Aelian, *VH* 12.50; Plutarch, *Moralia* 1146b) and Thaletas (Plutarch, *Moralia* 1146b; Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 4) are also said to have been brought to Sparta to reconcile the Spartans (G. Battista D'Alessio, 'Defining Local Identities in Greek Lyric Poetry', in R. Hunter and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Greek Poets in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 2009), 155). See also 580 T 27.

580 T 28 POLYAINOS 1.17	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="28"]]
Subject: Genre: Military history Historical Work: n/a Source date: 162 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Τυρταῖος, Λακεδαιμονίων μελλόντων παρατάττεσθαι Μεσηνίοις καὶ βεβουλευμένων νικᾶν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ἵνα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσει γνωρίζοιτο ἕκαστος, ἐπὶ (τὰς) σκυταλίδας τοῦνομα γραψάντων καὶ περὶ τῇ λαῖᾳ χειρὶ φερόντων, βουλόμενος ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς Μεσηνίους τοῦτο μαθόντας παρήγγειλε μὴ παρατηρεῖν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας Εἴλωτας. οἱ δὲ μηδενὸς παραφυλάττοντος ἀνέδην αὐτομολήσαντες	When the Lakedaimonians were preparing to draw up in battle against the Messenians, and having resolved to win or to die in the battle, and had written their names on sticks and were carrying them on their left arms, so that each might be recognised by his relatives when the bodies were gathered up, Tyrtaios, wishing to frighten the Messenians once they had learned of this, gave orders not to watch closely the helots who were deserting. And with nobody

ἤγγειλαν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν
Λακωνικὴν. οἱ δὲ καταπλαγέντες
ἀσθενέστερον ἀγωνισάμενοι τὴν νίκην οὐ
διὰ μακροῦ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδωκαν.

guarding them closely they deserted freely
and reported to the Messenians the
desperation of the Lakonians. And stricken
with panic they contended rather weakly
and not long after gave the victory to the
Lakedaimonians.

580 T 28 Commentary

Polyainos here records a so-called stratagem whereby the Spartans terrified the Messenians by allowing them to learn that they were prepared to fight to the death. Polyainos' story that the Spartans wrote their names on sticks (*skytalai*) which they pinned on their left arms so that their relatives might recognise them matches that provided by Diodoros (see T 22) and Justin (see T 37). Justin also records the incident with the dog-tags in considerable detail, which suggests that Polyainos may have gathered this story from Pompeius Trogus' lost history. Where Polyainos differs from Diodoros is the ruse by which the Messenians learn of the Spartans' resolve. In Justin's account the ruse is not a ruse but an open statement which ultimately fails as the Messenians are inspired to fight more bravely knowing that the Spartans are prepared to fight to the death. But it is not uncommon for Polyainos to manipulate events to suit his own agenda (see e.g. his claim that Derkylidas captured the city of Skepsis in Asia Minor by a deceptive oath (Polyainos 2.5.6, Frag. 39), whereas the eyewitness Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.1.8) mentions an entirely different ruse (for more see A.J. Bayliss, "Using Few Words Wisely?": "Laconic Swearing" and Spartan Duplicity", in S. Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Swansea 2009), 243-4).

The story is clearly part of the romantic tradition about the Messenian war. There is therefore no reason to follow Rockwell in seeing value in this story because it comes from "a specialist writer" (K. Rockwell, 'Tyrtæus: Bits of a Possible Career', *The Classical Bulletin* 52 (1975), 76).

Although Polyainos clearly assumes that the Spartans have already reduced some of the local population to the status of helots, that they had done so by this time has been disputed by some modern scholars (e.g. N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 70).

580 T 29 AELIAN <i>Varia Historia</i> 12.50	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="29"]]
Subject: Genre: National history; Genre: Antiquities Historical Work: n/a Source date: 170-235 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μουσικῆς ἀπείρως εἶχον· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῖς γυμνασίῳν καὶ ὄπλων. εἰ δέ ποτε ἐδεήθησαν τῆς ἐκ Μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας ἢ νοσήσαντες ἢ παραφρονήσαντες ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον δημοσίᾳ παθόντες, μετεπέμποντο ξένους ἄνδρας οἷον ἰατροὺς ἢ καθαρτὰς κατὰ	The Lakedaimonians had no acquaintance with the arts; for they cared for exercises and arms. If they ever needed the aid of the Muses either for illness or madness or some other public suffering of that kind, they sent for foreigners, such as doctors or purifiers in accordance with a Pythian oracle. Indeed

πυθόχρηστον. μετεπέμψαντό γε μὴν Τέρπανδρον καὶ Θάλητα καὶ Τυρταῖον καὶ τὸν Κυδωνιάτην Νυμφαῖον καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα.	they sent for Terpander, and Thaletas, and Tyrtaios, and Nymphaios the Kydonian, and Alkman.
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580 T 29 Commentary

Although Aelian does not explicitly state that Tyrtaios was Athenian, his claims that the Spartans sent for Tyrtaios along with Terpander, Thaletas, Nymphaios and Alkman clearly shows that he was aware of and accepted the tradition that Tyrtaios was not a native Spartan. Aelian's claim that the Spartans "had no acquaintance with the arts" makes it clear why later generations refused to accept that Tyrtaios or Alkman could have been "true" Spartans.

The stereotypical view of Spartans as military-minded and cultural philistines is undermined by the existence of the poetry of Tyrtaios and Alkman, and has been questioned increasingly by modern scholars, perhaps most strikingly in Hodkinson's critique (S. Hodkinson, 'Was Classical Sparta a Military Society?' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), 111-62).

580 T 30 HORACE Art of Poetry 401-403	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="30"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 19 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
post hos insignis Homerus Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella versibus exacuit.	After these [Orpheus and Amphion], famous Homer, and Tyrtaeus with their verses sharpened manly hearts for the wars of Mars.

580 T 30 Commentary

Horace here clearly links Tyrtaios with Homer, naming them as third (Homer) and fourth (Tyrtaios) in fame after Orpheus, the great mythical Thracian musician and inventor of musical instruments (Plato, *Ion* 533b-c; Pindar, *Pythian* 4.176; Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautika* 1.31), and Amphion, who built the walls of Thebes with his brother Zethus by enchanting the stones to move of their own accord with his magnificent lyre-playing (Hesiod fr. 182 M-W).

Horace's reckoning here seems to be that Homer and Tyrtaios are lesser than the heroic Orpheus and Amphion, but nonetheless worthy of esteem. This is high praise indeed for Tyrtaios. Indeed Brown notes, "Interestingly enough, these lines seem to be more about Tyrtaeus than Homer", and links them to the saying of Leonidas recorded by Plutarch (see 580 T 14a) (C.G. Brown, 'Warding off a Hailstorm of Blood: Pindar on Martial Elegy', in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 287). See T 31 where Quintilian appears to defend Horace against criticism for ranking Tyrtaios alongside Homer.

It has been suggested that Horace was strongly influenced by Tyrtaios' poetry, and that the phrase *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (3.2) was a direct response to Tyrtaios F 10 (L.I. Lindo, 'Tyrtaeus and Horace *Odes* 3.2', *Classical Philology* 66 (1971), 258-60). For more on this passage in Horace see R.G.M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 3* (Oxford 2004) 26-7.

580 T 31 QUINTILIAN 10.1.56	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="31"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: n/a Source date: c. 95 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
Quid? Horatius frustra Tyrtaeum Homero subiungit?	And has Horace no reason for putting Tyrtaeus next to Homer?

580 T 31 Commentary

This passage comes after Quintilian has observed "Homer, indeed, has undoubtedly left all others, in every branch of eloquence, far behind, and especially the writers of epic, where the similarity of the material makes the comparison most cruel."

Quintilian goes on to point out that Hesiod, Antimachos, and Panyasis all fail to match Homer, but were nonetheless admirable poets. He then names Apollonios, Aratos, Theokritos, Peisander, Macer, Vergil, and Euphorion as worthy of praise despite their shortcomings. It is then that Quintilian mentions Horace's regard for Tyrtaios. He writes: "Shall we leave out Euphorion? If Vergil had not approved of him, he would never have mentioned those 'songs wrought in Chalcidic verse' in his *Eclogues*. And has Horace no reason for associating Tyrtaeus with Homer?"

Quintilian's inclusion of Tyrtaios amongst writers of epic has been described as curious (D.A. Russell, *Quintilian, The Orator's Education, Volume V: Books 11-12* (Harvard 2001), 247-8). Russell (*Quintilian*, 281) goes onto ask "Did Q. realize that Tyrtaeus was not an epic poet at all, but a writer of elegy and lyric, though with warlike themes?". It may be that Quintilian paired Homer and Tyrtaios because both poems shared an obvious military context. See, for example, 580 T 13b where Dio Chrysostomos casts Alexander the Great telling his father Philip that Homer's poetry is better for encouraging men in war than that of Tyrtaios. The close connection between Homer and Tyrtaios here may also be because of what modern scholars have called Tyrtaios' "Homericity" in terms of style (L. Lulli, 'Elegy and Epic: A Complex Relationship', in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 201, and C. Carey, 'Epic, Diffusion and Identity', in S. Eliot, A. Nash and I. Willison (eds.) *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London 2007), 199).

580 T 32 QUINTILIAN 12.11.27	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="32"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: n/a Source date: c. 95 AD	Translation

Historian's date: 7th century BC	
Neque enim si quis Achillis gloriam in rebus bellicis consequi non potest, Aiakis aut Diomedis laudem aspernabitur, nec qui Homeri non, Tyrtaei.	Even if someone cannot obtain the glory of Achilles in matters of war, will he not reject the reputation of an Ajax or a Diomedes, nor will anyone who cannot achieve the reputation of Homer, reject of Tyrtaeus.

580 T 32 Apparatus Criticus

Winterbottom: nec qui Homeri non fuerunt *

Cousin: nec qui Homeri † non fuerunt Tyrtaei.

Prato: nec qui Homeri non fuerunt, <non fuerunt> Tyrtaei.

Radermacher: nec qui Homeri non fuerunt <aemuli, non fuerunt Tyrtaei>

Bonnell: nec qui Homeri non, Tyrtaei

580 T 32 Commentary

The text of Quintilian is flawed, and on Winterbottom's reading there is no real evidence for Tyrtaios being mentioned at all. But there are strong reasons for thinking the text did include a reference to Tyrtaios. Although the manuscript says *non fuerunt*, *fuerunt* has been erased and replaced with *tyrthei* (i.e. Tyrtaei) written in a second hand. Secondly, 580 T 31 clearly shows that Quintilian saw a link between Homer and Tyrtaios. Thirdly, other authors (e.g. Plato 580 T 7 and Horace 580 T 30) also associated Tyrtaios and Homer.

It seems simplest therefore to work with the received text and to follow Bonnell in reading the text as *nec qui Homeri, non Tyrtaei* i.e. "nor would anyone who (could not achieve the reputation) of Homer, not (reject) of Tyrtaeus". Admittedly it is very compressed but it allows us to have some sense of what Quintilian was saying and keep the reference to Tyrtaios.

According to this reading, Quintilian says that Tyrtaios is to Homer what Ajax (presumably Telemonian) and Diomedes are to Achilles. Quintilian thus compares Tyrtaios to Homer in a largely positive light where other authors see Tyrtaios as distinctly lesser than Homer, and understandably so.

580 T 33 PS. ACRO. In Hor. Art. poet. 402 Keller 1904, 370-1	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="33"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation

<p>Tyrceusque (<i>leg.</i> Tyrteusque) ...: Lacedaemoniis diu adversum Atheniensies (<i>leg.</i> Messenios) certantibus oracula responderunt aliter victoriam non proventuram, nisi Atheniensem ducem habuissent. Missi legati, qui hoc ab Atheniensibus postularent. Athenienses in contumeliam ipsi Tyrteum quendam claudum dederunt, dicentes iuxta ignaviam ipsorum hunc ducem sufficere posse. Sed oracula, quae promiserant, non frustrata sunt. Nam Tyrteus, licet corpore esset debilis, scripsit tamen carmen heroicum, quo accensi Lacedaemonii in aciem processerunt sicque sunt consecuti victoriam. [Aliter] Tyrteus genere fuit Atheniensis, poeta omni deformis parte membrorum. Is primus tubam invenit, quo etiam Lacedaemonii usi duce vicerunt Messenios. Nam cum diuturno tempore inter Lacedaemonios et Messenios bellum traheretur, consuluerunt Lacedaemonii oraculo Apollinem. Quibus responsum est non aliter eos posse vincere, nisi duce Atheniensi pugnarent. Quibusulantibus Athenienses Tyrteum dederunt; et ita Lacedaemonii vicerunt, cum hostes novus tubae sonitus terruisset.</p>	<p>Tyrceus (actually Tyrtaeus) ...: oracles replied to the Lacedaemonians who were competing for a long time against the Athenians (actually Messenians) that victory would not occur unless they had an Athenian leader. The envoys were sent out to demand of the Athenians. As an insult they gave a certain lame Tyrtaeus, saying in like manner, that as a leader he would suffice for their worthlessness. But the oracles were not frustrated in what they had promised. For Tyrtaeus, granted his body was frail, nonetheless wrote a heroic poem, by which the Lacedaemonians were roused and went into the battle array and thus obtained victory. Tyrtaeus was a poet of Athenian stock, deformed entirely in his limbs. He devised the first war trumpet, whom the Lacedaemonians employed as leader and overcame the Messenians. For when the war was dragging on for a long time between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians, the Lacedaemonians asked for Apollo's advice through an oracle. They were told the only way they could prevail was if they fought with an Athenian leader. And when they asked, the Athenians gave them Tyrtaeus; and so the Lacedaemonians were victorious when the new sound of the war trumpet terrified the enemy.</p>
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580 T 33 Commentary

In his commentary on Horace (see 580 T30) Pseudo-Acro here takes the tale of the lame Tyrtaios a step further to make him “deformed in every part of his limbs”.

The earlier story of Athenian compliance with the request (see Lykourgos 580 T 9a), or secret hostility (see Pausanias 580 T 25) is recast here as open hostility. The Spartans are demanding, and the Athenians send the deformed Tyrtaios as an “insult” (*contumelia*) to complement their insulting statement that “as a leader he would suffice for their worthlessness”.

But as in the story told by Pausanias, Apollo's will cannot be denied. Despite the Athenian belief that he will be useless Tyrtaios inspires the Spartans with his heroic verses, and defeated the Messenians with the help of his new invention the “war trumpet” (*tuba*). Porphyrio (580 T 35) credits Tyrtaios not with the invention of the *tuba* but being “the first to have produced modulations for war trumpets”, and adds the detail that the Messenians were defeated because of the terrifying sound of this new trumpet music.

580 T 34 AMPELIUS Lib. mem 14 p.27 Assmann	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="34"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy; Religion: Oracle Historical Work: n/a Source date: 2nd-3rd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Tyrtaeus, qui Messenio bello ex oraculo Apollinis dux ab Atheniensibus per ludibrium missus poemate suo ita militum animos concitavit, ut tam diuturnum proelium victoria consummarent.	Tyrtaeus, who in the Messenian war in accordance with an oracle of Apollo, sent as a leader by the Athenians in mockery, so stirred up the minds of the soldiers with his poetry, they brought such a lengthy fight to a victorious conclusion.

580 T 34 Commentary

Like Pseudo-Acro (580 T 33) Ampelius sees the Athenians' choice of Tyrtaios as an advisor to the Spartans as an insult (*ludibrium*). Unlike other writers Ampelius chooses not to explain to the audience why Tyrtaios was suitable as an insult, which makes his subsequent success in inspiring the Spartans to victory appear less remarkable than it should.

580 T 35 PORPHYRIO ad. Hor. Art. Poet. 402 (Holder p.176).	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="35"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy; Religion: Oracle; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: early 3rd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Tyrtaeusque: fuit hic genere Atheniensis poeta, omni parte membrorum deformis: primus hic tubae modulationes dedit ex hac causa. Nam cum Lacedaemonii bellum adversum Messenios gererent diuque traherent dubium Martis eventum, responsum acceperunt ab Apolline, si vellent vincere, Atheniensi duce uterentur. A quibus rogati Athenienses miserunt Tyrtaeum clodum et luscum, quem deformem riderent. Usi sunt auxilio. Quibus ille cantum monstravit tubarum, quarum inaudito territi sono Messenii fugerunt, adeptique sunt Lacones victoriam.	Tyrtaeus: he was a poet of Athenian stock, born deformed entirely in his limbs; he was the first to have produced modulations for war trumpet for this reason: when the Lacedaemonians were waging war on the Messenians and for a long time obtained indecisive results, they received an oracle from Apollo, that if they wished to prevail, they should use an Athenian leader. The Athenians, when they asked, sent Tyrtaeus, lame and one-eyed, whom they ridiculed as deformed. They made use of his help. He demonstrated trumpet songs to them, at the unprecedented sound of which the Messenians were terrified, and the Laconians obtained victory.

580 T 35 Commentary

Porphyrion takes the story of Tyrtaios one step further here in his commentary on Horace. Not only is Tyrtaios now firmly established as both “lame” and “deformed entirely in his limbs”, he is also now one-eyed (*luscum*).

As noted at 580 T 33, Tyrtaios’ “unprecedented sound” from his innovative modulations for war trumpets is said here to have terrified the Messenians into submission.

580 T 36 DL 2.43	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="36"]]
Subject: Genre: Biography Historical Work: n/a Source date: 3rd century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
οὐ μόνον δ’ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ὄσων. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρον καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς ὥς μαινόμενον ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ.	It was not only in the case of Sokrates that the Athenians had this experience, but also in very many others. For as Herakleides says, they fined Homer fifty drachmai for being a madman, and said Tyrtaios was deranged, and they honoured Astydamos rather than the likes of Aeschylus with a bronze statue.

580 T 36 Commentary

Diogenes does not repeat the stories that Tyrtaios was disabled or visually impaired, but in his own way intensifies the Athenian denigration of Tyrtaios by making him dismissed by the Athenians as being “deranged”. This is perhaps an exaggeration of the tradition transmitted by Pausanias (see 580 T 25) that Tyrtaios “seemed to have very little sense”.

Diogenes, however, clearly does not believe that Tyrtaios was crazy. Rather, he sees the Athenian categorisation of Tyrtaios as similar to their mistaken belief that Homer was insane, and as unjustified as their preference for the fourth-century playwright Astydamos over Aeschylus. Astydamos was awarded a statue for his play the *Parthenopaios* in 340 BC (Suda s.v. Σ 161).

580 T 37 JUSTIN 3.5.4-15	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="37"]]
Subject: Genre: Epitome; Genre: Elegy; Religion: Oracle Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Itaque cum hinc iniuria, inde indignitas animos acueret, Lacedaemonii de belli	So while ill-treatment on one hand, and indignation on the other, sharpened

eventu oraculo Delphis consulto iubentur
ducem belli ab Atheniensibus petere. Porro
Athenienses, cum responsum cognovissent,
in contemptum Spartanorum Tyrtaeum,
poetam claudo pede, misere, qui tribus
proeliis fusus eo usque desperationis
Spartanos adduxit, ut servos suos ad
supplementum exercitus manumitterent
hisque interfectorum matrimonia
pollicerentur, ut non numero tantum
amissorum civium, sede et dignitati
succederent. Sed reges Lacedaemoniorum,
ne contra fortunam pugnando maiora
detrimenta civitati infunderent, reducere
exercitum voluerunt, ni intervenisset
Tyrtaeus, qui composita carmina exercitui
pro contione recitavit, in quibus hortamenta
virtutis, damnorum solacia, belli consilia
conscripserat. Itaque tantum ardorem
militibus iniecit, ut non de salute, sed de
sepultura solliciti tesseris insculptis suis et
patrum nominibus dextro brachio
deligarent, ut, si omnes adversum proelium
consumpsissent et temporis spatio confusa
corporum liniamenta essent, ex indicio
titulorum tradi sepulturae possent. Cum sic
animatum reges exercitum viderent, curant
rem hostibus nuntiare; Messeniis autem non
timorem res, sed aemulationem mutuam
dedit. Itaque tantis animis concursus est, ut
raro umquam cruentius proelium fuerit. Ad
postremum tamen victoria
Lacedaemoniorum fuit.

feelings, the Lacedaemonians, when they
consulted the oracle at Delphi about the
outcome of the war, were ordered to ask the
Athenians for a war leader. Afterwards, the
Athenians, when they learned the answer, in
contempt of the Spartans, sent Tyrtaeus, a
poet, lame in foot, who, having been routed
in three battles, brought the Spartans to
such despair, that in order to reinforce the
army they manumitted slaves promising
marriage to the widows of those who had
been killed, so that they might take the
place of the lost citizens not only in number
but also in social position. But the kings of
the Lacedaemonians, lest by fighting
against fortune, should heap greater
misfortunes on the community, wished to
withdraw the army, had not Tyrtaeus
intervened, who recited to the army, at a
public assembly, composed songs in which
he written exhortations to courage,
consolations for losses, and counsels for
war. And so he inspired the soldiers with
such great fire that, concerned not about
their safety but only about proper burial
they fastened to their right arms tokens with
their own and their fathers' names inscribed
on them, so that, if they should all be
destroyed in an unfavourable battle and the
features of their bodies should be disfigured
by the passage of time, they could be given
burial from the information on their labels.
When the kings saw the army so enthused
they took care to announce the thing to the
enemy; but the matter provoked in the
Messenians not fear but greater striving on
their side. And so they clashed in battle
with such vigour that rarely ever was there
a more bloody fight. At last, however, there
was victory for the Lacedaemonians.

580 T 37 Commentary

Justin's late but detailed story of the Messenian wars and Tyrtaios' role in it offers us little that other authors do not.

The story that the Spartans acquired Tyrtaios, a lame Athenian, after consulting the oracle can all be found elsewhere (see 580 T 1a for details), as can the claim that the Spartans made up their numbers by freeing helots (Pausanias 580 T 22, Orosius 580 T 41), and Tyrtaios' plan to

make the Spartans wear ‘dog-tags’ so that the dead could be easily identified (Diodoros 580 T 22, Polyainos 580 T 28), and Justin’s claim that Tyrtaios performed his songs at a public meeting, which is similar to Pausanias’ statement that “Upon arriving he sang his elegaic and anapaestic verses both in private to those in office and as many as he happened to gather together” (see 580 T 25).

Where Justin does provide us with new (albeit not particularly reliable) evidence is his claim that Tyrtaios was defeated in three battles. But this translation is based upon Seel’s reading where the singular participle “fusus” must refer to Tyrtaios. Yardley suggests following Seel’s tentative suggestion of changing fusos to the plural participle “fusus” (O. Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* (Stuttgart 1972), 43), which would make this sentence actually mean “Three defeats had driven the Spartans to such despair that Tyrtaios could convince them to free” (J.C. Yardley and R. Develin (eds.), *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Atlanta GA 1994), 49 n9). This would make Justin’s testimony much closer to that provided by other writers.

580 T 38 THEMISTIOS Oration 15 197c-198a	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="38"]]
Subject: Genre: Epideictic oratory; Genre: Elegy; Genre: Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. 317 AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς πάλαι πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς συμμαχίαν αἰτεῖσθαι Ἀθήνηθεν. πρεσβευσαμένοις δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν πυθόχρηστον αἰτησαμένοις οὐχ ὀπλίτας ἔδοσαν οὐδὲ ἱππέας οὐδὲ μὰ Δία ψιλοὺς ἢ γυμνήτας, ἀλλὰ Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν. ἤδεσαν γὰρ ἅτε σοφοὶ ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς μὲν σώμασι Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων οὐχ ἡττωμένους, θάρσει δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ βελτίους γίνεσθαι καὶ ἰσαρίθμους ἰσαρίθμων καὶ πολλῶ ἑλάττους πλειόνων, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οἱ Λάκωνες τετρακόσιοι ὄντες οὐκ εἶξαν μυριάσι βαρβάρων ἀναριθμήτοις, οὐ Λούκουλλον Τιγράνη, οὐδὲ Πομπήϊον Μιθριδάτη, οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ Γαλάταις οὐδὲ ἱπάρχων Σαυρομάταις. ἀναστῆσαι δὲ τούτους ἐπτηχότας καὶ ἀνεγείραι αὐτῶν τὰ φρονήματα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ζῆλον ἀναγαγεῖν ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ Τυρταῖος, ἱκανωτέρα δὲ φιλοσοφία ... λέγω οὖν παραστησάμενος τὸν Τυρταῖον καὶ τὸν Τυρταίου μεγαλοφωνότερον Ὅμηρον· Ὡ πόποι, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ’</p>	<p>The god ordered the Lakedaimonians, who were long ago hard pressed in war by the Messenians, to ask for an oracle-ordained alliance from Athens. But when the Lakonians sent envoys seeking the alliance the Athenians gave not hoplites, not horsemen, not, by Zeus, soldiers without heavy armour (ψιλοὺς) or light-armed troops (γυμνήτας), but Tyrtaios the poet. For being wise men the Athenians knew the Lakedaimonians were not inferior to the Messenians in body, but better in courage and spirit when they were equal in number to their enemy and when they were greatly outnumbered, like those Lakonians who though four hundred did not yield to the countless myriads of barbarians, nor Lucullus to Tigranes, nor Pompey to Mithridates, nor Caesar to the Gauls, and not the hipparch (i.e. the magister equitum) to the Sarmatians. To raise up those cowering men and to arouse their spirits and to bring them back to their former zeal Tyrtaios was equal, but philosophy is more so ... So I say, having stood beside Tyrtaios</p>

ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι δεινόν, ὃ οὔ ποτ'
 ἔγωγε τελευτήσεσθαι ἔφασκον, Τρῶας ἐφ'
 ἡμετέρας ἰέναι πόλεις, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ
 φυζακινοῖς ἐλάφοισιν ἐώκεσαν ...

and Homer who is louder-voiced than
 Tyrtaios, “Oh shame! The great, fearsome
 wonder I see with my eyes, which I for my
 part said would never come to pass, the
 Trojans will come against our cities, they
 who were formerly like shy deer” ...

580 T 38 Commentary

In a passage exhorting the emperor Theodosius (AD 379-395) to fight against the Goths Themistios takes Tyrtaios’ exhorting of the Spartans against the Messenians as a model. It is significant here that Themistios differs from some of the earlier writers (e.g. Ampelius 580 T 34, Porphyrios 580 T 35, Justin 580 T 37) by making the Athenian decision to send the poet Tyrtaios to assist the Spartans a helpful rather than an unhelpful choice. The “wise Athenians” deliberately chose to send not the more obviously useful assistance such as hoplites, horsemen, or light-armed men because they knew that the Spartans were equal to the Messenians in body but needed the encouragement that a poet like Tyrtaios could provide.

Themistios compares the bravery of the Spartans against the Messenians with the later exploits of the “four hundred” Lakonians who did not yield against the countless myriads of barbarians. This is clearly a reference to the Battle of Thermopylai in 480 BC, although obviously Themistios should have said that there were three hundred Spartans not four hundred. Perhaps Themistios was confused between the 300 Spartans, and the 4000 Peloponnesians mentioned in memorial to the Greeks which reads “here is the place they fought, four thousand from Peloponnesos” (Herodotos 7.228). Themistios goes on to compare their bravery to that of Lucullus against Tigranes I of Armenia (c. 100-56 BC), Pompey against Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63 BC), and the younger Theodosius’ exploits against the Sarmatians mentioned prior to this by Themistios (182c).

Themistios compares Tyrtaios to Homer, but gives Homer the “louder voice”, and then slightly reworks a quotation from *Iliad* 13, 99-102 where Poseidon rouses the Achaeans to action against the Trojans. Where Themistios uses the word “cities” Homer’s Poseidon says “ships”. He follows this up with Nestor urging Agamemnon to lead the Achaeans against the Trojans (*Iliad* 2.344), and Agamemnon’s response (*Iliad* 2.382).

Here we have yet another passage comparing Tyrtaios with Homer (see 580 T 7 for details), but for Themistios the comparison is both complimentary, with Tyrtaios in the same breath as Homer, and provides a clear message of his inferiority (Homer is “louder-voiced”). Despite Themistios’ apparent admiration for Tyrtaios he does not quote his words, which perhaps suggests that he had not actually read any of Tyrtaios’ poetry.

580 T 39 JEROME/HIERONYMOS Chron 96b	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="39"]]
Subject: Genre: Chronology; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: n/a Source date: c. 380 AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation

Myrtaeus (<i>pro</i> Tyrtaeus) Atheniensis poet cognoscitur.	Myrtaeus (for Tyrtaeus) the Athenian poet is acknowledged.
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580 T 39 Commentary

Aside from the Suda (see 580 T 1a) Jerome here is the only ancient writer to provide a clear date for Tyrtaios. Whereas the Suda dated Tyrtaios to the 35th Olympiad (640-637 BC), Jerome dates the poet Myrtaeus (clearly a misspelling of Tyrtaeus) to the 36th Olympiad (more specifically 633 BC). Mosshammer speculates that Jerome “probably” dated Tyrtaios to the 35th Olympiad, but the text we have is the result of a “transcriptional error” (A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (London 1979), 209). Given that Tyrtaios’ name is misspelled, a scribal error is entirely plausible.

As noted in 580 T 1a, previously Tyrtaios was thought to date to much earlier than the date provided by the Suda and Jerome. But the recent trend is to date Tyrtaios and the final conquest of Messenia to the second half of the seventh century BC, much closer to the dates provided by Jerome and the Suda. Unfortunately we have no other secure means of dating Tyrtaios.

580 T 40 HESYCHIUS Illustris Hist. Frag. 7 988-991	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="40"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: 5th century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Τυρταῖόν φασι τὸν ἐλεγειοποιὸν τοῖς μέλεσι χρῆσάμενον, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μεσσηνίοις ἐπολέμουν, παροτρῶναι Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ταύτη ἐπικρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι.	It is said that Tyrtaios the elegiac poet, by using his songs, when the Lakedaimonians were at war with the Messenians, urged them and in this way made them masters.

580 T 40 Commentary

Hesychius here provides nothing about Tyrtaios that is not known from other sources. This text (or its source) is clearly the basis of some of the information provided by the Suda (see 580 T 1a).

580 T 41 OROSIUS 1.21.7-8	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="41"]]
Subject: Genre: Epitome; Music; Everyday Life: Slavery Historical Work: n/a Source date: 414 AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation

<p>Lacedaemonii Tyrreum (<i>pro</i> Tyrtaeum), Atheniensem poetam, ducem proelio legunt. qui tribus conflictibus fusi, amissum exercitum uocata in libertatem seruorum manu suppleuerunt. sed cum sic quoque desistendum certamine propter metum periculi arbitrarentur, Tyrrei (<i>pro</i> Tyrtaei) poetae et ducis composito carmine et pro contione recitato rursus accensi mox in certamen ruunt; tanta autem ui animorum concursus est, ut raro umquam cruentius proelium exarserit; ad postremum tamen uictoria Lacedaemoniorum fuit.</p>	<p>The Lacedaemonians chose Tyrreus (for Tyrtaeus), the Athenian poet, as their war leader. They, after being routed in three battles, made up the number of the lost army with the body of slaves called up to freedom. But although they thought they should thus also abandon the fight for fear of danger, they soon rushed into battle fired up by a poem composed by the poet and leader Tyrreus (for Tyrtaeus) and recited at an assembly. The battle was fought with so much strength of spirit that rarely ever has a more bloody battle blazed forth. Finally victory went to the Lacedaemonians.</p>
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580 T 41 Commentary

Orosios offers us nothing that is not provided by other authors. The similarity between his account and that of Justin (580 T 37) suggests that Justin (or Justin's source the history of Pompeius Trogus) was the basis of Orosios' account.

<p>580 T 42 JOANNES SICULUS, <i>Commentarium in Hermogenis librum περὶ ἰδεῶν</i></p>	<p>meta[[id="580" type="T" n="42"]]</p>
<p>Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 11th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>οὕτω καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἡττώμενοι τοῖς Τυρταίου ποιήμασιν ἀνελάμβανον τὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἐνίκων,</p>	<p>In this way also the Lakedaimonians when they were always being discomfited by the Messenians recovered their spirit by the poems of Tyrtaeus and were victorious.</p>

580 T 42 Commentary

This passage provides no information that we do not already possess from other sources.

<p>580 T 43 MAXIMUS, <i>Orations</i> 37.5</p>	<p>meta[[id="580" type="T" n="43"]]</p>
<p>Subject: Genre: Epideictic oratory; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 125-185 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC</p>	<p>Translation</p>

Historical period: 7th century BC	
οὕτω Βοιωτοὺς τοὺς ἀγροίκους αὐλὸς ἐπιτηδεύόμενος ἡμέρωσεν καὶ ποιητῆς Πίνδαρος συνῳδὸς τῷ αὐλῷ, καὶ Σπαρτιάτας ἤγειρεν τὰ Τυρταίου ἔπη, καὶ Ἀργεῖους τὰ Τελεσίλλης μέλη, καὶ Λεσβίους ἢ Ἀλκαίου ᾠδὴ•	In this way, practising the aulos tamed the rustic Boiotians and the poet Pindar singing to the accompaniment of the aulos, and the verses of Tyrtaios roused the Spartans, and the songs of Telesilla the Argives, and lays of Alkaios the Lesbians.

580 T 43 Commentary

Maximus was a neo-Platonist philosopher who wrote on such topics as *Homer in Plato's State* (17), *On the Daimonion of Socrates* (8, 9), and *Plato on God* (11). Maximus mentions Tyrtaios here in the oration on *Virtue and the Liberal Arts*. In sections 1-3 Maximus recalls the educational recommendations made by Plato in the *Laws*. At 4-7a he explains how music helps develop excellence of character. Finally, at 7b-8 he explains how geometry is conducive to excellence of intellect.

While discussing the importance of music in the development of excellence of character Maximus notes that whereas the naturally boorish Boiotians were tamed by music, the Spartans, Argives, and Lesbians were roused by it. Tyrtaios is in esteemed company here with the famous Boiotian poet Pindar, Telesilla, a poetess from Argos, who is said to have armed the women of her home city and prevented a victory by Kleomenes (Pausanias 2.20.8-10; Plutarch, *Moralia* 245c-f), but not mentioned by Herodotus in his detailed account of Kleomenes' invasion of the Argolid (6.77), and Alkaios was a sixth-century BC lyric poet from Mytilene on Lesbos who wrote verses criticising the tyrants Myrsilos and Pittakos. Trapp argues that the precedent for "this survey of beneficial poets" is provided by Plato, *Laws* 629a (M.B. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: The philosophical orations* (Oxford 1997), 295 n23).

580 T 44a GALEN de plac. Hippocr. et Plato 3.4.15	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="44" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Medicine; Genre: Elegy; Philosophy: Stoic Historical Work: unknown Source date: 129-199 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
ἐμπλήσας ὁ Χρύσιππος ὅλον τὸ βιβλίον ἐπῶν Ὀμηρικῶν καὶ Ἡσιοδείων καὶ Στησιχορείων, Ἐμπεδοκλείων τε καὶ Ὀρφικῶν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ παρὰ Τυρταίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα παραθέμενος...	Chrysippos filled his whole book with lines from Homer, Hesiod, Stesichoros, Empedokles, and Orpheus, and added besides these not few from tragedy and from Tyrtaios and from other poets...

580 T 44a Commentary

Galen here (and at T 44b, and T 44c) criticises the Stoic philosopher Chrysippos of Soli (later Athens), the most important of Zeno's students if the well known saying "Without Chrysippos there would have been no Stoa" (DL 7.183) is anything to judge by, for his excessive quoting of authors including Tyrtaios in his treatise *On the Soul*. In this passage Galen claims that Chrysippos "filled his whole book" with quotations from Homer, Hesiod, Stesichoros, Empedokles, Orpheus, various tragedians and Tyrtaios. At 580 T 44b Galen criticises Chrysippos for both his garrulity, and for citing poets such as Euripides and Tyrtaios rather than real authorities such as Hippokrates whom he calls "the best of all doctors" and Plato the foremost philosopher. At 580 T 44c Galen criticises Chrysippos for citing the poets Stesichoros and Tyrtaios when they are not authorities, would know nothing of doctrines, and would have hoped to learn of them from a philosopher such as Chrysippos rather than the other way around.

It is not the case that Galen is criticising Chrysippos for citing Tyrtaios because he is an inferior poet. Rather, Galen – like many anti-Stoic polemicists – took a dim view of Chrysippos' use of poetry altogether (T. Tieleman, *Galen and Chrysippus on the Soul: Argument and Refutation in the De placitis, Books II-III* (Leiden 1996), 233). Chrysippos' appears to have been notorious for his quoting. The Epicurean philosopher Apollodoros of Athens once claimed that "if one were to strip the books of Chrysippos of all extraneous quotations, his pages would be left bare" (DL 7.181), and Chrysippos allegedly quoted Euripides' *Medea* so liberally that someone reading his volume referred to it as "The *Medea* of Chrysippos" (DL 7.180). Tieleman (*Galen*, 233) argues that Galen's claims are borne out by the huge number of poetical quotations copied out from Chrysippos' text.

When considering the importance of Tyrtaios as a writer it is worth bearing in mind that Tyrtaios is in good company among the scrolls of Chrysippos. Stesichoros was a sixth-century lyric poet, known as the Himeraian, whose works were collected in twenty-six books. Empedokles (see also 580 T 18) was a fifth century pre-Socratic philosopher who wrote the Nature poem 'On the origins of the world' (so-called *Περὶ φύσεως*) and the 'Purifications' (*Καθαρμοί*), both in epic hexameters. The poets Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and the Athenian tragedian Euripides need little introduction.

For more on this subject see 580 T 44b and T 44c, and 580 F 13.

580 T 44b GALEN de plac. Hippocr. et Plato 3.4.30	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="44" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Medicine; Genre: Elegy; Philosophy: Stoic Historical Work: unknown Source date: 129-199 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
ἔγωγ' οὖν ἠναγκάσθην ὑπὸ τῆς Χρυσίππου προαχθεὶς ἀδολεσχίας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὰς Εὐριπίδου φωνάς, ὃ μή ποτ' ἂν ἐκὼν ἐτόλμησα πράξαι περὶ τηλοκρίτου δόγματος ἀποδείξεις γράφων. οὐχ ὅπως γὰρ Εὐριπίδης ἢ Τυρταῖος ἢ τις ἄλλος ποιητὴς ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἰδιώτης ἱκανὸς πιστεῦσθαι περὶ δόγματος ἀπάσης	So I for my part, having been led on by Chrysippos' garrulity, was compelled to relate the words of ordinary men and Euripides, something I would never have dared to do while writing the proofs of such an important doctrine. For Euripides, or Tyrtaios, or any other poet, and every non- expert are not fit to trust concerning a

ἀποδείξεως χωρίς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ πάντων ἱατρῶν ὁμολογουμένως ἄριστος Ἱπποκράτης, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἀπάντων φιλοσόφων Πλάτων.	doctrine in the absence of all proof, and not even the commonly agreed-on best of all doctors himself, Hippokrates, and likewise not Plato the first of all philosophers.
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580 T 44b Commentary

See 580 T 44a.

580 T 44c GALEN de plac. Hippocr. et Plato 3.4.32	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="44" n-mod="c"]]
Subject: Medicine; Genre: Elegy; Philosophy: Stoic Historical Work: unknown Source date: 129-199 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
ὁ δέ γε Χρύσιππος ὧν μὲν οὔτοι λέγουσιν ἀποδείξεων ὑπὲρ τοῦ προκειμένου δόγματος οὔτε ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδεμιᾶς οὔτ' ἐξελέγγειν ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐκ αἰδεῖται δὲ Τυρταῖόν τε καὶ Στησίχορον ἐπικαλούμενος μάρτυρας οὓς εἰ καὶ ζῶντας ἤρετό τις εἰ τῆς περὶ τούτων τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιστήμης ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ἐξωμολογήσαντο ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μηδενὸς ἐπαΐειν αὐτῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν οἶμαι παρὰ Χρυσίππου τι μαθεῖν ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποδεικνύειν ἡξίωσαν.	But Chrysippos does not mention any of the proofs which these men described on behalf of the doctrine before us, and did not put his hand to refuting any of them, and was not ashamed to call Tyrtaios and Stesichoros as witnesses, who if asked while alive if they laid claim to acquaintance with something of these doctrines, would surely have confessed, I think, to knowing nothing of them, but they would I imagine learn something from Chrysippos rather than deem themselves worthy to give proofs.

580 T 44c Commentary

See 580 T 44a.

580 T 45 AELIAN History of Animals 6.1	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="45"]]
Subject: Genre: Natural history; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 170-235 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες τῇ προβοσκίδι ἑαυτοῦς παίουσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξάπτοντες, ὅταν τούτου ἢ καιρός, καὶ οὐ δέονται τοῦ προσάσοντος καὶ ἐροῦντος οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς, οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ Τυρταίου μέτρα ἀναμένουσι.	Elephants strike themselves with their trunk inflaming themselves for the fight, whenever the occasion for this arises, and they do not need someone to sing along and say “this is no time for you to sit and delay”, nor do they wait for the verses of

580 T 45 Commentary

Aelian begins his discussion of animal courage by arguing that “Men have need of the spoken word to stimulate and persuade them to be good, to banish cowardice, to gather courage: athletes, with a view to running; soldiers, with a view to fighting. Animals however need no extraneous encouragement but stimulate their prowess for themselves and rouse and incite themselves”. He goes on to describe how wild boars sharpen their tusks on smooth stones, lion’s lash themselves with their tails (quoting Homer, *Iliad* 13.471), and in this extract, elephants. Aelian concludes by noting how when the dominant male bull is supplanted by a rival he goes away, practices fighting, throws dust upon himself, and sharpens his horns on a tree trunk.

It is surely significant that Aelian chose to single out Tyrtaios as a writer who would inspire bravery amongst men. Not only does this point to Tyrtaios’ prominence, it presumably also is an allusion to the notion that Spartan bravery was learned rather than inherent. Thus, Perikles in the funeral oration claims (Thuc. 2.39) that whereas the Athenians have “courage not of art but of nature”, the Spartans acquire courage only by “laborious discipline”.

The quotation “this is no time for you to sit and delay” is a version of Bacchylides frag. 11 (Jebb) from Athenaeus 14.631c.

580 T 46 EUSTATHIUS 1.609	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="46"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ὁ γοῦν τοῦ Ἑκτορος λόγος οὕτως ἦνυσε παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὥστε ὁ δειλὸς καί, ὡς ἂν τις εἴπῃ, τρεσᾶς μένει τὸν Μενέλαον κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν καὶ μονομαχῆσαι θέλει πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὃν πρὸ τοῦ λόγου ἔφευγε. τοιαῦτα ὁ λόγος δύναται. τοιοῦτον ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τὸν Τυρταῖον οἶδε ῥήτορα, οἷον ἐρεθίζειν προθύμως ἀποκινδυνεύειν εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ὁ ἐντυχὼν ἔπεσιν ἐκείνου εἴσεται, ὅπως ἐνθουσιᾷ τῷ εἰς μάχην ἐγερτικῶ.</p>	<p>At any rate then Hektor’s speech in this way had such an effect on Alexandros (Paris), that the cowardly and, as one may say, tremulous man stood fast against Menelaos following his exhortation and intended to fight a single combat against him, from whom he was running away before the speech. Such is the power of speech. History recognises that Tyrtaios too was a speaker of the type to arouse men energetically to risk everything in war, and one who reads his verses will perceive that he is being inspired by incitement to battle.</p>

580 T 46 Commentary

Eustathius of Thessaloniki’s commentary on Homer’s *Iliad* is arguably the most important of all the surviving Byzantine period commentaries (E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A*

guide to finding, reading, and understanding scholia, commentaries, lexica, and grammatical treatises, from their beginnings to the Byzantine period (Oxford 2007), 15). Eustathius’ “guiding principle” was the utility of Classical works for the education of the young, and he saw Homer in particular as “a paradigm of style and as a teacher of ethical behaviour (F. Pontani, ‘Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529-1453)’, in F. Montanai, S. Matthaios, and A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Leiden 2015), 390-1). In this and the following three passages Eustathius compares rousing speeches in the *Iliad* to the exhortatory poetry of Tyrtaios. In each comparison Tyrtaios is said to fall short of Homer.

Here Eustathius is commenting on a scene in Homer, *Iliad* 3.15-76, when Paris proposes a single combat with a champion of the Achaeans to end the war. Naturally Menelaos will step forward to fight against him. After slinking back behind the Trojan lines in fear Paris is convinced to fight by his brother Hektor’s rousing (and insulting) speech.

Eustathius compares Hektor’s speech with the verses of Tyrtaios who is categorised as “a speaker of the type to arouse men energetically to risk everything in war”. His assertion that “anyone who reads his verses will perceive ” implies that Eustathius himself has read his works, which is significant given that elsewhere (see 580 T 50) Eustathius observes that others do not know the works and deeds of Tyrtaios. If Eustathius had indeed read Tyrtaios it is particularly frustrating that he does not quote any of his verses which failed to measure up to the lofty standards set by Homer.

580 T 47 EUSTATHIUS 2.324	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="47"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC	Translation
Καὶ ὅρα ὅπως ἡ Ἑλένη οὕτω δύναται πείθειν, ὥς καὶ εἰς πόλεμον ἐξάγειν, οὐδὲν ἥττον τοῦ θρυλλουμένου Τυρταίου ἐρεθίζειν εἰς μάχην λόγοις ἔχουσα.	And see how Helen in this way was able to persuade (him) even to enter into the war, having no less capacity than the frequently cited Tyrtaios to provoke to battle through her words.

580 T 47 Commentary

Here Eustathius is commenting on a scene in Homer, *Iliad*, 6.312-67, where Hektor finds Paris in bed with Helen. Hektor urges Paris to fight, and after apologising for shirking his duty Paris agrees to do so.

Eustathius claims that Homer’s Helen is just as capable with a rousing speech as “the frequently cited Tyrtaios”, which is slightly odd given that she does not actually rouse either Paris or Hektor to action. The active comparison to Tyrtaios again implies that Eustathius has encountered his works, or at least reference to them.

For more on Eustathius’ aims see 580 T 46.

580 T 48 EUSTATHIUS 3.262	meta[[id="580" type="T" n="48"]]
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Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ἡ γὰρ ἔξοδος αὕτη, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν, τὸ ἐκμολεῖν, αἰτία τῷ Πατρόκλῳ θανάτου, περιπεσόντι δεινῷ ῥήτορι τῷ Νέστορι, ὃς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ὑμνούμενον Τυρταῖον εἰς μάχην ἐρεθίζειν εἰδὼς ἔπεισε τὸν Πάτροκλον πεσεῖν ὡς ἔπεσεν.</p>	<p>For this coming out (<i>ekmolein</i>, <i>Iliad</i> 11.603-4;) or, to say the same thing, the action of 'venturing forth' is the reason for the death of Patroklos, who comes upon the forceful speaker Nestor, who knows, exceeding even the vaunted Tyrtaios, how to provoke to battle, and persuaded Patroklos to fall as he did fall.</p>

580 T 48 Commentary

Eustathius comments here on the scene in Homer, *Iliad* 11.600-604, which leads to Patroklos agreeing to lead the Myrmidons into battle thus sowing the seeds of his own destruction. He compares Nestor's role in persuading Patroklos to throw himself into battle with the poetry of the "vaunted" Tyrtaios. The fact that Eustathius feels that Nestor's speech exceeds even Tyrtaios' suggests a certain respect for the poetry of Tyrtaios not found in the ancient commentators.

The main thrust of this passage appears to be that Eustathius does not think that his audience will understand the word ἐκμολεῖν, the action of "venturing forth".

For more on Eustathius' aims see 580 T 46.

580 T 49 EUSTATHIUS 3.758 = Gentili and Prato T 44 = Schol. T in Hom. Il. 15.496	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="49"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>καὶ φασιν οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς κάλλιον ἔστι ταῦτα τοὺς μαχίμους νέους ἀναγινώσκειν ἐν βραχεῖ δυνατῶς καὶ κατὰ τάξιν ἢ ἂν Τυρταῖος πολυλογῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔγραψε.</p>	<p>And the ancients say that it is better for young soldiers to read out these lines (<i>Iliad</i> 15.494-9) briefly, vigorously and when already lined up (?), than that which Tyrtaios loquaciously wrote for the Lakedaimonians.</p>

580 T 49 Commentary

Eustathius here refers to Hektor's speech urging the Trojans to "Fight on then by the ships together...". Eustathius claims that "the ancients say" that this speech is better for encouraging soldiers than the wordy lines of Tyrtaios.

It is possible that Eustathius has the Athenian orator Lykourgos in mind when he makes this claim that "the ancients say" this, for Lykourgos cites this brief speech from the *Iliad* immediately before citing Tyrtaios' much longer poem exhorting the Spartans to fight (see 580 F 10). Lykourgos does not state that Hektor's speech was more inspiring than Tyrtaios' poetry, but he does imply it by how he constructs his argument. Lykourgos first cites Praxithea's rousing speech from Euripides' *Erechtheus* (1.100) as an example of the type of speech that inflames a citizen's devotion to country. He then cites Hektor's speech, before noting that the Athenians who fought at Marathon had listened to such speeches and wished to emulate such deeds (1.103). He then goes on to explain that their deeds were so great that the Spartans were told to acquire a leader from the Athenians. The selection of Tyrtaios as a Spartan leader proves that nothing could surpass the valour of the Athenians' ancestors (1.105). The obvious implication is that Homer is more important than Tyrtaios.

The fact that both Eustathius and Lykourgos mention this speech from Homer in the same breath as Tyrtaios is striking. Given that Eustathius frequently cites Lykourgos it is tempting to think that Eustathius encountered Tyrtaios through Lykourgos' speech. It is especially tempting when one takes into account the fact that Eustathius mentions Tyrtaios' poetry as if he knows it, but does not ever cite it (see 580 T 46). Perhaps Eustathius only knew Tyrtaios 580 F 10 from reading Lykourgos?

There is a certain irony here that Sparta's greatest poet is accused of having written "wordily" (πολλολογῶν) given the Spartans' reputation for favouring brevity of speech or *brachylogia*. Presumably Eustathius felt that the "loquacious" Tyrtaios stood in strong contrast to the Spartan norm. For more on the famed Spartan brevity of speech see E.D. Francis, 'Brachylogia laconica', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 38 (1991-3), 198-212.

For more on Eustathius' aims see 580 T 46.

580 T 50 EUSTATHIUS Opuscula 23.66 Hakkert 1964	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="50"]]
Subject: Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ἦν γὰρ τῷ ὄντι παραθῆξαι μὲν εἰς μάχην λόγοις Τυρταίου ῥητορεία, ἢ Τιμοθέου πρὸς μέλος ἄρμοσις, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄδεται τοῖος εἶναι εἰς πόλεμον ὀτρύνει, ὡς δεξιῶς ἔχειν ἐρεθίσαι εἰς θάνατον· Τιμόθεος δὲ τὸν πολὺν Ἀλέξανδρον ἄδων ποτὲ εἰς θυμὸν ἐκμῆναι Ἀρεϊκόν, καὶ πείσαι πρὸς ὅπλα δραμεῖν, ὡς εἰ καὶ πόλεμος ἐνίστατο· προθυμηθῆναι δὲ εἰς ἔργον, ἀστραπῆς ἔχων ἔξαλμα, ἔργον δὲ γενέσθαι πῦρ, ὕλης</p>	<p>For there was indeed, as a verbal incitement to battle, the oratory of Tyrtaios, or what Timotheos set to music, of whom the first is celebrated as so good at urging them to war that they were ready to strive to the death. And as for Timotheos, when on one occasion he was singing, he drove the famous Alexander into a war-fury, and persuaded him to run to arms, as if war was at hand; and he was psyched up for action,</p>

δραπτόμενον. καὶ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν οὐκ οἶδ' οἷς ἀγνώστων.	bounding like lightning, though the deed was fire taking hold of wood. And this is one of those things that are unknown to some people.
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580 T 50 Commentary

This passage from Eustathius' funeral oration for the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) compares the inspirational skills of the late emperor with Tyrtaios and Timotheos the famous Theban *aulos* player.

According to Dio Chrysostomos (*Oration* 1.1-2) when Timotheos played before Alexander for the first time "he showed great musical skill in adapting his playing to the king's character by selecting a piece that was not languishing or slow nor of the kind that would cause relaxation or listlessness". Dio goes on to report that "they say, too, that Alexander at once bounded to his feet and ran for his arms like one possessed, such was the exaltation produced in him by the tones of the music and the rhythmic beat of the rendering". Dio is presumably Eustathius' source here, although Timotheos is a central figure in Lucian's *Harmonides* (where the story does *not* appear), and the story was sufficiently well known to be included by the Suda (s.v. A 1122).

Both Tyrtaios and Timotheos are said to so inspire men that "they were ready to strive to the death", which recalls Tyrtaios F 15 which urges Spartan youths to be "not sparing your lives, for that is not the Spartan ancestral custom", which is cited by Dio Chrysostomos (*Oration* 2.59), and in turn recalls the claims of Plutarch that Tyrtaios was a good one to slaughter the lives of young men "for filled up with inspiration by his poems they were unsparing of themselves in battles" (see 580 T 14a-c).

Eustathius' claim that Timotheos' deeds are "unknown to some people" combined with the fact that he goes on to explain that people do recall the deeds of the late emperor suggests that his own knowledge of Tyrtaios is atypical. This is not altogether surprising given that Pontani has described Eustathius as "perhaps the most learned man of the Byzantine Millenium" (F. Pontani, 'Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529-1453)', in F. Montanai, S. Matthaios, and A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Leiden 2015), 385).

580 T 51 EUSEBIUS <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> 5.28.1	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="51"]]
Subject: Genre: Christian literature Historical Work: n/a Source date: c. 313 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
Ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν Τυρταίου προκαθηγεμόνα καὶ σκοπὸν ἐλθόντα ποτὲ ὡς σὲ ἦκειν ἔφης ἐκ κοίλης Λακεδαιμόνου 'Ζηνὶ φίλον καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι', δίξῃσθαι τε ἢ θεὸν αὐτὸν μαντεύσει ἢ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεόν, ὅτι ἦλθεν εὐνομίην αἰτήσων. καὶ πῶς, εἰ θεός, οὐκ ἠπίστατό πω	But when the precursor and model of Tyrtaios once came to you, you said 'you have come from hollow Lakedaimon, a friend to Zeus and all who dwell on Olympos', and that you were in doubt to divine whether to surmise he was a god or a man, but more likely a god, because he

νόμον πολιτικὸν ὁ φίλος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ
πάντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων;

came seeking *eunomia*. But how, if he was
a god, did he not know civic law, ‘the friend
of Zeus and all those of Olympos’?

580 T 51 Commentary

This passage is from Eusebios of Caesaria’s *Εὐαγγελικὴ προπαρασκευή*, more commonly known by its Latin title *Praeparatio evangelica*. This early fourth-century AD work was a Christian apologetic attempting to explain in advance objections which were likely to be raised against Christians by Greeks and Jews in order to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over pagan religions and philosophies. Book 5 of Eusebios’ work discusses the nature of demons, and includes extracts from Plutarch, Porphyry, amongst others. This particular extract is a quotation from a satirical work by Oinomaïos entitled *The Detection of Imposters*.

The individual identified here by Oinomaïos/Eusebios as the “precursor and model” of Tyrtaïos is the mythical Spartan lawgiver Lykourgos. This passage is based on Herodotos 1.65, where Herodotos claims that when Lykourgos entered the temple hall at Delphi the Pythia immediately addressed him as follows: “Is it you, Lykourgos, that comes to my rich temple? Lykourgos, dear to Zeus and to all that holds the halls of Olympos? I ask myself whether, in prophecy, as a god or a man I shall hail you. Nay, but ’tis rather a god that I see in you Lykourgos”. Herodotos goes on to explain that while some say that the Pythia then dictated the Spartan constitution to Lykourgos the Spartans themselves claim that Lykourgos brought the constitution from Crete. Although Herodotos appears to have accepted the oracle as authentic, Eusebios is clearly citing this example from Oinomaïos to show how inadequate the oracle of Apollo was in order to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity.

Eusebios’ claim that Lykourgos served as a model for Tyrtaïos fits with the notion that Tyrtaïos was a *nomothetēs* of sorts for the Spartans, but does not account for the lack of evidence that Tyrtaïos was even aware of Lykourgos. It has long been noted that Tyrtaïos makes no mention of Lykourgos in his surviving fragments. This means that either Tyrtaïos was not aware of Lykourgos, or he chose not to mention Lykourgos. Whatever the case Lykourgos cannot really be accepted as a “model” for Tyrtaïos.

580 T 52 NIKEPHOROS Gregoras, Epistle 99

meta[[id="580" type="T" n="52"]]

Subject Genre: Commentary; Genre: Elegy
Historical Work: unknown
Source date: c. 1295-1360 AD
Historian’s date: 7th century BC

Translation

καθὰ καὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀκούομεν ἐπὶ
τῶν πολέμων ἐς τὰ ἐμμελῆ τοῦ Τυρταίου
ποιήματα τὴν μνήμην ἀνάγοντας, οὕτως
εὐρυθμον καὶ ἐμμελῆ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
κίνησιν•

Just as we hear that the Spartiates in wars
used to bring their memory back to the
tuneful poems of Tyrtaïos and in this way
make their movements rhythmic and
harmonious.

580 T 52 Commentary

Nikephoros provides yet more testimony that the Spartans used Tyrtaios' poetry to help make their movements more rhythmic and harmonious. Plutarch (*Lykourgos* 21) discusses the Spartans use of "marching rhythms which they used to an accompaniment of pipes when advancing upon the enemy", but does not mention Tyrtaios in this context. Valerius Maximus (2.6.2) claims that the Spartan marching rhythm had an anapaestic rhythm, which perhaps provides us with a context for Tyrtaios' anapaestic verses (see 580 T 25, and F 16).

For more on the performance of Tyrtaios' verses in a military context see 580 T 9a, T 17.

580 T 53a MANUEL HOLOBOLOS Oratio catechetica lecta quasi a Patriarcha Germano. Page 17 line 3	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="53" n-mod="a"]]
Subject Genre: Epideictic oratory; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: Late thirteenth century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>λῆρον δ' ἡγοῦνται τὰς ᾄδομένας Σειρῆνας, τὰς λιγυρὰς ἀηδόνας, μῦθον τὰ τοῦ Τυρταίου μέλη καὶ τοῦ Θαμύριδος, ὅταν ὁ μὲν κορυφαῖος ἀναλαμβάνῃ τὴν ἐπὶ φῶδόν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὸ τῆς φῶδης ἐνδόσιμον ὑπηχοῦσι κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἡχοῦς ὑστερόφωνον.</p>	<p>The Sirens, subjects of song, the high-pitched nightingales, they consider rubbish, and the songs of Tyrtaios and Thamyras they think myth – when the choral leader strikes up the refrain, and the others re-echo the announcement of the theme with the after-sound of its echo.</p>

580 T 53a Commentary

See 580 T 53b.

580 T 53b MANUEL HOLOBOLOS Explicatio ev. Matth. XVII 20. Page 23 line 32.	meta [[id="580" type="T" n="53" n-mod="b"]]
Subject Genre: Commentary; Music Historical Work: unknown Source date: Late thirteenth century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ὥς γοῦν ἤδη τὸν λόγον διεξιὼν ἐπεφθάκειν καὶ ἥ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ἐκεῖνο ῥητόν, ὁ θεοειδὴς βασιλεὺς ἀνοίξας αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, καθὰ πού τὸ πάλαι καὶ Ἰησοῦς αὐτός, ὁ τούτου καὶ πάντων θεός, διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν, εὐαγγελικῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν γραφὴν βραχεῖ καὶ ἐπιτόμῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρῶμενος—φιλεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς θειοτέροις τοῦτο κατὰ λόγον τὸν ὡς εἰκὸς ὁ πολλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγων ἀβρότητα λόγων πλουτῶν Λυσιακὴν εὐστομίαν ὑπερβαίνοντων, Ξενοφῶντος Σειρῆνας,</p>	<p>When, then, proceeding through his speech, he had by now reached the point of dealing with the sense in which that passage of the gospel was meant, the godlike king opened his mouth, just like in olden times Jesus himself, his God and everyone's, and in the language of the gospel (Luke 24.32) 'opened up the scripture' to us, employing short and concise speech — for this is what someone tends to do in the case of more religious matters, if we may adopt a reasonable view, when in other</p>

Ἡροδότου Μούσας, Χάριτας Ἴσοκράτους ὑπερφωνούντων, Πολέμωνος ῥοῖζον ὑπερκροτούντων καὶ ὑπεραδόντων τὰ τοῦ Τυρταίου καὶ τοῦ Θαμύριδος—τί γοῦν; φησι, μέγα μοι πάντως ἄχθος ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνομημάτων πληθὺς...	circumstances their resources encompass a great luxuriance of words that exceed the eloquence of Lysias, that resound beyond the Sirens of Xenophon, the Muses of Herodotos, the Graces of Isokrates, that outdrum the onrush of Polemon, and outing the works of Tyrtaios and Thamyris – ‘Well!’, he says, ‘the volume of my crimes is in every way a great burden to me...’
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580 T 53b Commentary

The thirteenth and fourteenth-century theologian Manuel-Maximus Holobolos who had his nose and lips cut off on the orders of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, and later helped stymie Michael’s plan to unify the Greek and Latin churches (R.J. Macrides, ‘Holobolos, Manuel’, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991), 940), mentions Tyrtaios twice alongside the mythical singer Thamyris. According to the mythic tradition Thamyris was a singer from Thrace who challenged the Muses to compete with him and lost. As a punishment they took away his gift of song and maimed him (Homer, *Iliad* 2,594-600; Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*, 65).

In both passages Manuel Holobolos links Tyrtaios and Thamyris. No other author seems to make this connection. Given that all the others are historical figures, it is tempting to speculate that instead of Thamyris Holobolos was actually thinking of the poet Thaletas, a near-contemporary of Tyrtaios who was said to have introduced music to Sparta (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1134d).

Aside from Thamyris, T 50b Tyrtaios is named alongside such literary and historical luminaries as the logographer Lysias, the historians Xenophon and Herodotos, the orator Isokrates, Polemon (presumably the fourth and third century BC philosopher and successor of Xenokrates as head of the Academy). Unlike some commentators (see e.g. Eustathius), but like Themistios, and Horace many centuries earlier, Holobolos seems to be making the comparison as a compliment to Tyrtaios rather than an insult.

580 F 1 - ARISTOT. Pol. 5, 6 p. 1306b 22	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="1"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Politics: Civil strife; Politics: Political history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 350 BC Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅπερ εἴρηται κινεῖν καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ... ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν, οἱ δὲ εὐπορῶσιν – καὶ μάλιστα ἐν	But in aristocracies factions come about because only the few share in the honours, the very thing which has been said also to stir up oligarchies ... furthermore, whenever some are very poor and others are well off –

<p>τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται. #paraphrase# συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον · δῆλον δὲ [καὶ τοῦτο] ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας · θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡξίουσαν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν #.</p>	<p>and - especially during wars – does this occur. And this situation also occurred in Sparta during the Messenian War; and this is clear from the work of Tyrtaios called <i>Eunomia</i>: for some men being squeezed because of the war thought that the land should be redistributed.</p>
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580 F 1 Critical apparatus

δῆλον δὲ [καὶ τοῦτο] ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου Verrall, Jacoby; δῆλον δὲ {καὶ τοῦτο} ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου West

580 F 1 Commentary

This fragment of Tyrtaios' poem *Eunomia* is one of only two fragments said explicitly to have come from that work. It is buried within a detailed discussion of social inequality within aristocracies in Aristotle's *Politics*. Aristotle argues that in aristocracies factions come about because only a minority shares in honours and that the same thing happens in oligarchies. Aristotle claims that this happened in Sparta during the Messenian War, citing Tyrtaios' line, "for some men being hard pressed because of the war thought that the land should be redistributed" as evidence of his claim that factions occur "whenever some are very poor and others are well off...especially during wars".

The size of this tiny fragment belies its overall importance to our understanding of Archaic Sparta. For it is our earliest (and indeed only) contemporary reference to the civil strife that afflicted Sparta (like much of the rest of Greece) in the Archaic period, and for any kind of land redistribution there. This civil strife was resolved ultimately by the conquering of Messenia which facilitated the creation of a new order at Sparta whereby inequalities were concealed by the rebranding of Spartan citizens as *homoioi* or "equals". The highly romanticised vision of this can be seen in Plutarch's claim (Plut. *Lyc.* 8) that Lykourgos carried out a comprehensive redistribution of the land in Lakonia into 9,000 plots of land for the Spartan *homoioi* and 30,000 lots for the *perioikoi*, and that soon "the whole of Lakonia had the look of a property which many brothers had recently divided between themselves". See

S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 19-64, for a thorough analysis of what he calls "the dominant egalitarian image in ancient thought".

Somewhat ironically, rather than prove the romanticised view of the redistribution of land portrayed by Plutarch, this fragment can be seen to disprove it. Tyrtaios indicates that the war against the Messenians meant that some Spartans – literally "those being squeezed" (θλιβόμενοι) – called for the land to be redistributed, literally "thought it fit to make the land divided anew". But if each Spartan had a plot of land in Lakonia as later writers such as Plutarch alleged, how did war against the Messenians lead to these men being "squeezed"? The answer must be that the rebellion of the Messenians led to Spartans whose wealth was based on land already taken from the Messenians to be "squeezed". That this is the case can

be seen from the fact that the solution to this problem was not actually land redistribution but rather the full conquest of Messenia (Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth*, 76-7).

Although Jacoby also included Aristotle's discussion of Lysander's discontent at receiving less honour than the kings, Kinadon's conspiracy, and the regent Pausanias' insurrection in his text for Tyrtaios F 1, I have followed West in omitting these here on the grounds that Tyrtaios died long before these episodes, and the information therefore cannot have any meaningful bearing on Tyrtaios' work.

I have also followed West in deleting Aristotle's reference to the story of the Partheniai from Tyrtaios F 1. The details of this episode are all supplied only by much later writers (Antiochos *FGrH* 555 F 13; Ephoros *BNJ* 70 F 216; Aristotle, *Politics* 1306 b 29-31; Diod. 8. 21; Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F 171), and if Tyrtaios had written of these events surely Aristotle would have cited him, since he cites Tyrtaios in this very passage about social divisions in Sparta during the period of the Messenian wars.

Although Tyrtaios mentioned such social divisions, it is unlikely that the episode of the Partheniai would have suited Tyrtaios' purpose in writing the *Eunomia*. An episode whereby rebels were evicted to a colony in southern Italy would not fit well with a poem which appears to have been about resolving differences within the citizen body rather than reacting to them. See Pausanias (580 T 25) and Aelian (580 T 27) where Tyrtaios is said to have undone the differences of the Spartans.

580 F 2 – P.OXY. 2824, TURNER	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="2"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Foundation myth; Myth: Mythical past Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: late 1st/early 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: Mythical past	Translation
<p> ...υι..[].ε θεοπρο[π].φ..ενακ[].μαντειασαν[].τειδεταθη.[] πάντ' ειδεν.[] ἄνδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν] ι[.] η[.] γαλα[] ..[...] θεοῖσι φί[λ] ω περὶ θώμεθα κ[] αν ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος· αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου □[πόσις Ἥρης Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστν δέδωκε τὸ □[δε, οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἑρινεὸν [ἡγεμόεντα εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ[εθα [] γλαυκώπ[ι]δος[</p>	<p> [unknown] / prophecy (?) / [unknown] / (of the?) the oracle(s?) / [unknown] / knew all (?) / we stirred up men (?) / [unknown] / loved by the gods (?) / let us obey (?) / nearer the race / [for the son of Kronos himself, husband] of most beautifully crowned [Hera, / Zeus] has given this city [to the Herakleidai,] / with whom at the same time [abandoning] windy Erineus, / we reached [the broad] isle [of Pelops]. / [unknown] / of the grey-eyed... </p>

580 F 2 Critical apparatus

θεόπρο[ποι ἄνδρες] or θεοπρο[πέων] Turner

[ἀσπ]ασίας... or [θεσπ]εσίας Turner;]..ιας.α[.] [Gentili-Prato;]τειδεταθή[West

ἀνιστ[αμένους Turner; ἀνιστ[αμεν West

θεοῖσι φί[λῳ Θεοπόμπῳ] Turner

γεν[έει or εος Turner; γέν[ε- Gentili-Prato; γέν[εος West

τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν Strabo, Gentili-Prato; ἄστῳ δέδωκε West

580 F 2 Commentary

“Prophesy?” – perhaps a reference to the god Apollo?

“of the oracle(s?)” – perhaps relating to oracles from Apollo? Turner suggested in the *editio princeps* that the text could be restored as θεόπρο[ποι ἄνδρες] or θεοπρο[πέων], which he noted would suggest the Spartan officials known as the Pythioi (Πύθιοι). The Pythioi were two ambassadors selected by each Spartan king from amongst his mess-mates, who were dispatched to obtain oracles from Delphi. For more on the role of the Pythioi at Sparta see Herodotos 6.57, Xenophon, *Lak.Pol.* 15.4).

“Let us obey” –perhaps a reference to the kings. Gerber opts for “let us obey (the kings since they are?) nearer to the race (of the gods?)” (D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), 37-9).

“Windy Erineus” – Erineus is in Doris in central Greece, the ancestral homeland of all the Dorians (Thucydides 1.107; see also Herodotos 8.43). For more on this see 580 F 3.

“The grey eyed” is clearly a reference to the goddess Athena (e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 6.88).

For a full commentary on the rest of this text see 580 F 3.

580 F 3 STRABON 8, 4, 10 p. 362	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="3"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Foundation myth Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 64 BC - AD 21 Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: Mythical past/7th century BC	Translation
καὶ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν #· «αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων,	For he claims to be from that place in his elegy named <i>Eunomia</i> : “For the son of Kronos, husband of the most beautiful

καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης / Ζεὺς
 Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν, / οἷσιν
 ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα /
 εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα». ὥστ'
 ἢ ταῦτα ἠκύρωται τὰ ἐλεγεία, ἢ Φιλοχόρῳ
 ἀπιστητέον τῷ φήσαντι Ἀθηναῖόν τε καὶ
 Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ Καλλισθένεια καὶ ἄλλοις
 πλείοσι τοῖς εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
 ἀφικέσθαι, δεηθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων
 κατὰ χρησμόν, ὃς ἐπέταττε παρ' Ἀθηναίων
 λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τυρταίου
 ὁ δεύτερος ὑπῆρξε πόλεμος.

crowned Hera Zeus himself has given this city to the Herakleidai, with whom at the same time abandoning windy Erineus, we reached the broad isle of Pelops". Consequently either these verses of the elegy must be set aside, or we must disbelieve Philochoros, who claimed that he was both Athenian and Aphidnaian, and Kallisthenes and several others that he came from Athens at the Lakedaimonians' request in accordance with an oracle which ordered them to take a leader from the Athenians. So the second war began in the time of Tyrtaios.

580 F 3 Commentary

Strabo here cites Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* as part of a rather garbled "potted history" of the conflicts between the Spartans and the Messenians. Strabo's meandering discussion mentions the first and second Messenian wars, and moves onto a discussion of Tyrtaios' origin where he cites this fragment of the *Eunomia* to demonstrate that Tyrtaios was Spartan. After this Strabo goes on to mention the third and fourth Messenian wars, before abruptly terminating his tale because he is devoting a disproportionate amount of space to a land of such a small present-day population.

Strabo quotes from the *Eunomia* here to demonstrate that Tyrtaios was indeed Spartan. The lines Strabo quotes begin "Zeus has given this city to the Herakleidai", thus providing one of the earliest references to the return of the Herakleidai (for recent discussions see N. Kennell, *The Spartans: A New History* (Malden 2010), 20-3; M. Nafissi, 'Sparta', in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 118). Some scholars see this line as showing that Tyrtaios embraces all the Spartiates as Herakleidai (P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012), 290-1; G. Battista D'Alessio, 'Defining Local Identities in Greek Lyric Poetry', in R. Hunter and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Greek Poets in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 2009), 151).

The following line "with whom at the same time abandoning windy Erineus, we reached the broad isle of Pelops" has been the matter of some debate, because Tyrtaios' use of the first person plural "we came" (ἀφικόμεθα) can be taken literally, as Strabo does, to prove that Tyrtaios himself claimed to be Spartan (NB J.T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans* (London 1980), 130, argues that this shows that Tyrtaios calls himself Dorian). Clearly Tyrtaios does use the first person plural, but the notion that he might have been using poetic licence in his use of the term "we" seems not to have occurred either to Strabo or to some modern commentators. An exception is D'Alessio ('Defining Local Identities', 151-2), who argues that throughout his writings Tyrtaios uses the terms "you", "us", and "we" because he "impersonates 'the Spartan citizen'." The implication here is that Tyrtaios was not a Spartan citizen. But whether he was a Spartan or not, this line of thought misses the mark. The authorial voice of Tyrtaios is impersonating the Spartan citizen in his *Eunomia*, the exhortatory elegies, and the war songs, because he was writing for posterity. Tyrtaios was

writing poetry which the Spartans would recite long after his death, a fact which required him to write as if a living Spartan were speaking.

Having ‘proven’ that Tyrtaios claimed to be Spartan, Strabo then mentions writers who claim that he was Athenian by birth, including no lesser names than Philochoros the Athenian Atthidographer (*BNJ* 328 F 215), and Aristotle’s nephew Kallisthenes (*BNJ* 124 F 24). Strabo argues, “Consequently either these verses of the elegy must be set aside, or we must disbelieve the claim by Philochoros that he was both Athenian and Aphidnaian, and by Kallisthenes and several others that he came from Athens...” Strabo clearly does not wish to discount either what he sees as Tyrtaios’ own claim to be Spartan or the word of later historians who claim that Tyrtaios was Athenian. But if Tyrtaios was using poetic licence when writing in the first person, his Spartan identity (as Strabo sees it) would not preclude him from being from Athens.

However, as noted at 580 T 1a, the most likely solution is that the later writers misinterpreted Tyrtaios’ words. They were after all writing centuries after the fact. Philochoros’ claim that Tyrtaios was from Athens and Aphidna is surely crucial, for Aphidna was both an Athenian deme and a town in Lakonia. This could mean that (1) Tyrtaios was an Athenian from Aphidna; (2) Tyrtaios was an Athenian and dwelt in Aphidna in Lakonia after becoming a Spartan citizen; or (3) Tyrtaios was a Spartan from Aphidna and Athenocentric writers assumed that meant he was from Athens. The latter seems by far the more likely.

It is of course hypothetically *possible* that Tyrtaios was a naturalised Spartan. That is clearly what is envisaged in a supposed Spartan saying in response to the question “why they had made the poet Tyrtaios a citizen (*politēs*)” (see 580 T 14). The Spartan Pausanias responded, “so that a foreigner might never be seen to be our leader” (Plut. *Moralia* 230d). Earlier the Spartans had been happy to import Terpander and Thaletas (H. van Wees, ‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*: Nothing to do with the Great Rhetra’, in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (Swansea 1999), 5), and they also appear to have embraced the seer Epimenides of Gortyn (Pausanias 3.11.11), even if the Argives claimed they did so maliciously (Pausanias 2.21.3). Herodotus (9.35) also reports that the Spartans made Tisamenos the Elean seer and his brother citizens, although Herodotos does add that they were “the only people who ever became Spartan citizens”. For a more on this issue see 580 T 1a and the Biographical Essay.

580 F 4 - M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Tyrtaeus 4 Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="4" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Politics: Constitution; Politics: Political history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: various Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: Mythical past	Translation
Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ’ ἐνεικαν μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ’ ἔπεα· ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας, οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις,	“Upon hearing Phoibos they brought back home from Pytho both prophecies from the god and his perfect pronouncements; That first in council are the god-honoured kings, in whose care is Sparta, charming city, and

<p>πρεσβυγεν<έα>ς τε γέροντας· ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους μυθεῖσθαι τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια, μηδὲ τι βουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει <σκολιόν>· δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι. Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ᾧδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει.</p>	<p>the aged elders, then the men of the people replying with (or “to”) straight rhetras. and to speak the best and to do all things justly and not to counsel anything <crooked> for this city; and let the mass of the people have both victory and strength; for Phoibos has brought light concerning these things to the city.</p>
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580 F 4 Critical apparatus

οἱ τάδε νικᾶν Plutarch; οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν Xylander, Jacoby, Gentili-Prato, West

τιμῆς Plutarch; βουλή Diodoros; βουλήι Bouissevain; βουλῆς Jacoby, Gentili-Prato, West

Σπάρτας Plutarch

πρεσβυγενεῖς δὲ Diodoros; πρεσβύτας τε Plutarch; πρεσβυγενέας Bergk, Hudson-Williams, Jacoby, West

εὐθείην ῥήτρας Diodoros

μηδὲ τι ἐπιβουλεύειν Diodoros; μηδ' ἐπιβουλεύειν...<σκολιόν> Bach; μήθ' ἐπιβουλεύειν
τῇδε πόλει <τι κακόν> Dindorf; μήδε τι † ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει Jacoby; μήδε τι
βουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει < σκολιόν > West; [?] μήδε τι ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει [?] Van Wees;

580 F 4 Commentary

I have followed West in joining the two texts (F 4a and F 4b) here in one.

Gerber sees “no adequate reason” against supplementing Plutarch’s text of the oracle with the additional lines in Diodoros (D.E. Gerber, ‘Elegy’, in D.E. Gerber (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* (Leiden 1997), 105). See, however, Nafissi, who recently argued that to do so is “misleading” (M. Nafissi, ‘The Great *rhetra* (Plut. *Lyc.* 6): a Retrospective and Intentional Construct?’, in L. Foxhall, H-J. Gehrke, M. Nafissi (eds.), *Intentional History: Spinning Time in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart 2010), 99).

See F 4b for a full commentary.

<p>580 F 4a - PLUTARCH. Lykurg. 6, 7 = M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i>, vol. 2. Oxford, 1972</p>	<p>meta[[id="580" type="F" n="4" n-mod="a"]]</p>
<p>Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Biography; Politics: Constitution; Politics: Political history;</p>	<p>Translation</p>

<p>Religion: Oracle Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 50-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: Mythical past</p>	
<p>οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λυκούργος ὥστε μαντεῖαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσει περὶ αὐτῆς, ἣν ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως: ‘Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι δάμω δὲ ἀν<τα>γορίαν ἤμεν καὶ κράτος’ ... ὕστερον μέντοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ προσθήσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ ῥήτραι παρενέγραψαν · (8) «αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔροιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἤμεν» ... (9) #paraphrase# ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ τούτων · # «Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ’ ἔνεικαν / μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ’ ἔπεα · / ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας, / οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτας ἱμερόεσσα πόλις, / πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἀνδρας / εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους».</p>	<p>So Lykourgos was so earnest about this office that he brought back an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a <i>rhetra</i>. It has thus: “Upon founding a temple to Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania, dividing the people into tribes and dividing the people into <i>obai</i>, and setting up thirty as a council of elders with the <i>archagetai</i> to hold an assembly season to season between Babyka and Knakion, thus to both bring in and set aside, but the right to speak against and the power are to belong to the people” ... Later, however, with the subtractions and additions of the masses distorting and doing violence to the decisions, the kings Polydoros and Theopompos supplemented the <i>rhetra</i> in this way: “and if the people should choose crookedly, the elders and the <i>archagetai</i> (kings) are to be setters-aside” ... and they persuaded the city that the god commanded these supplements, as Tyrtaios perhaps recalls through the following: “Upon hearing Phoibos they brought back home from Pytho both prophecies from the god and his perfect pronouncements; That first in council are the god-honoured kings, in whose care is Sparta, charming city, and the aged elders, then the men of the people replying with straight <i>rhetras</i>”.</p>

580 F 4a Commentary

I have again followed West rather than Jacoby in reproducing more from Plutarch for clarity.

See 580 F 4b for a full commentary.

<p>580 F 4b - DIODOR. 7, 12, 5 = M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i>, vol. 2. Oxford, 1972</p>	<p>meta[[id="580" type="F" n="4" n-mod="b"]]</p>
<p>Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Politics: Constitution; Politics: Political history; Religion: Oracle Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 60-30 BC</p>	<p>Translation</p>

Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: Mythical past	
<p>ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Λυκούργος ἦνεγκε χρησμόν ἐκ Δελφῶν περὶ τῆς φιλαργυρίας τὸν ἐν παροιμίας μέρει μνημονευόμενον «ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ἔλοι, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν». (6) [[ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησε τῷ Λυκούργῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οὕτως]] «ὦδε γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων / χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίνος ἐξ ἀδύτου · ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῇ θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας, / οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις, / [πρεσβυγενεῖς δὲ γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας / εὐθείην ῥήτρα<ι>ς ἀνταπαμειβομένους]· / μυθεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια, / μήδε τι βουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει <σκολιόν>· / δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι · / Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὧδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει».</p>	<p>That Lykourgos himself received an oracle from Delphi concerning the love of money is remembered in the proverb: “Love of money will destroy Sparta, and nothing else”. [[The Pythia delivered an oracle to Lykourgos concerning civic affairs in this way]]: For thus far-shooting Apollo Lord of the Silver-bow golden-haired proclaimed from his wealthy shrine: To be first in council are the god-honoured kings, in whose care is Sparta, charming city, [and the aged elders, then the men of the people replying with (or “to”) straight rhetras;] and to speak the best and to do all things justly and to counsel anything <crooked> for this city; and let the mass of the people have both victory and strength; for Phoibos has brought light concerning these things to the city”.</p>

580 F 4b Commentary

Plutarch and Diodoros provide two separate versions of an oracle preserved by Tyrtaios. Although Diodoros does not mention Tyrtaios by name the Plutarch text confirms this does belong among Tyrtaios' writings. Most modern editions of Tyrtaios combine both texts into one fragment to bring clarity (see e.g M.L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* (Oxford 1992) F 4; D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), F 4, 40-1; D. Ogden, ‘Crooked Speech: The Genesis of the Spartan Rhetra’, *JHS* 114 (1994), 87), but van Wees keeps them separate as part of his detailed discussion of the both the Great Rhetra and the rider (H. van Wees, ‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*: Nothing to Do With the Great Rhetra’, in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (Swansea 1999), 6-14). For clarity I have followed West in doing both by producing F 4, F 4a and F 4b when translating them, but in order to avoid needless repetition I have chosen to comment on the different versions of the fragments together.

Before tackling the content of these fragments it should be pointed out that once again Tyrtaios' words are preserved here in *much* later sources. Both Plutarch and Diodoros were writing more than half a millennium after Tyrtaios died, and their ability truly to understand what they were reporting is undoubtedly compromised as a result. It is in fact entirely unclear whether Plutarch has even read Tyrtaios himself. His observations on the Spartan constitution here are based largely on the testimony of Aristotle, so much so that scholars from the mid-twentieth century onwards have frequently referred to the author here as Aristotle rather than Plutarch (see for example H.T. Wade-Gery, ‘The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch Lycurgus VI B’, *CQ* 38 (1944), 1-9, who despite the title consistently talks of the source as “Aristotle?”, and M. Kōiv, ‘The Origins, Development, and Reliability of the Ancient Tradition about the

Formation of the Spartan Constitution', *Historia* 54 (2005), 233-64, who mentions Plutarch in the very first paragraph but never again).

One need look no further than the fact that Plutarch attributed the oracle to the kings Polydoros and Theopompos, making it a "rider" to the so-called Great Rhetra, whereas Diodoros appears to have attributed it to Lykourgos himself, to see how confused and confusing this testimony really is. But it was not just the passage of time that compromised their ability to interpret Tyrtaios' words. Traditions shifted and changed in Sparta, and Tyrtaios seems not to have known Lykourgos, or at the very least seems not to have mentioned him. Moreover, Tyrtaios' poetry was written for a specific purpose in a time before the myth of equality in Sparta fostered by their divinely-inspired political regime was actively promoted both within and outside Sparta by the Spartans themselves and their admirers such as Kritias. The so-called *mirage Spartiate*, produced what Hodkinson calls "the dominant egalitarian image in ancient thought" (S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000) 19-64). The waters were muddied further in those crucial years by the fact that the Spartans themselves engaged in an internal debate about what aspects of their political infrastructure were truly Lykourgan, and whether or not Lykourgos' constitution was even divinely-approved. Thus in Herodotos' day whereas the rest of the Greeks believed that Lykourgos received his constitution after visiting Delphi the Spartans themselves were adamant that Lykourgos brought it back from Crete (Herodotos 1.65). Later, the Spartan king Pausanias even advocated the abolition of the ephorate on the grounds that it was not part of Lykourgos' legislation (Aristotle, *Politics* 1301b17-9). Tyrtaios' *Eunomia* must have played a crucial role in this internal Spartan debate (for a full discussion see van Wees, 'Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia*', 14-22; M. Meier, 'Tyrtaios fr. 1B G/P bzw. fr. 14 G/P (= fr. 4 W) und die große Rhetra – kein Zusammenhang?', *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (2002), 83-5; see also N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 45). But the fragmentary nature of the evidence today makes it difficult for us to reach firm conclusions about what Tyrtaios did or did not reveal about the origins of the Spartan *politeia*.

So what do these late sources tell us about Tyrtaios' testimony? Plutarch cites Tyrtaios here in his biography of Lykourgos after his account of the so-called Great Rhetra, which is all part of an attempt to show the powers of the Gerousia (Meier, 'Tyrtaios und die große Rhetra', 74). According to Plutarch, "Lykourgos was so earnest about this office" (i.e. the members of the council of Elders) that he brought back an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a *rhetra*" (see van Wees, 'Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia*', 22-3, for discussions of the merits or lack thereof of Plutarch's claim that the Spartan word *rhetra* (which elsewhere would mean decision) actually meant "oracle"). Plutarch then goes on to cite the *rhetra* which describes the foundation of the cults of Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania, the establishment of the tribes, *obai*, *Gerousia* and assemblies perhaps season to season between Babyka and Knakion (for more on this see M. Nafissi, 'The Great *rhetra* (Plut. *Lyc.* 6): a Retrospective and Intentional Construct?', in L. Foxhall, H-J. Gehrke, M. Nafissi (eds.), *Intentional History: Spinning Time in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart 2010), 94-5), before concluding with the much-debated words "but the right to speak against and the power are to belong to the people"; on this debate, see below. After briefly explaining what this all means Plutarch then adds the crucial information, "Later, however, with the subtractions and additions of the masses distorting and doing violence to the decisions, the kings Polydoros and Theopompos supplemented the *rhetra* in this way: "and if the people should choose crookedly, the elders and the archagetai (kings) are to be setters-aside".

We then finally get to the testimony of Tyrtaios when Plutarch claims that “they persuaded the city that the god commanded these supplements, as Tyrtaios perhaps recalls through the following”. But where Plutarch claims the oracle was given to Polydoros and Theopompos, Diodoros (7.12.1-5) appears to suggest that the almost identical oracle that he cites was received by Lykourgos, for the oracle is described along with three other oracles delivered to him (van Wees, ‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, 7). We must be cautious, however, for Diodoros’ account of the Spartan constitution has survived only in fragments from a tenth-century AD epitome. So the Tyrtaios fragment in Diodoros is in fact a fragment within a fragment, and the lines “[The Pythia delivered an oracle to Lykourgos concerning civic affairs in this way]”, are a marginal comment that Jacoby struck out.

If Diodoros did link the oracle to Lykourgos, this would seemingly put Plutarch and Diodoros at odds with each other. But the exact wording Plutarch uses – ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμένηται διὰ τούτων (“as Tyrtaios *perhaps* recalls through these”) – reveals that even he had some doubt about whether or not the oracle he was citing is in fact the one that was received by Polydoros and Theopompos (van Wees, ‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, 7; Nafissi argues that Plutarch’s doubt itself casts doubt over whether these lines belong to Tyrtaios at all (Nafissi, ‘Great *rhetra*’, 98-9), which seems needlessly cautious, and Nafissi himself does not pursue it fully in his conclusions). Plutarch’s doubts seem to me a sign that Plutarch has not actually read Tyrtaios and is merely going by what Aristotle revealed here. However, if Diodoros attributes the oracle to Lykourgos, and Plutarch was uncertain whether Tyrtaios’ oracle is that received by Theopompos and Polydoros, we cannot say even that our late sources *believed* the oracle to be referring to the alleged rider with any confidence.

Several aspects of Tyrtaios’ oracle merit further discussion:

1. The oracle justifying the alleged “rider” is clearly written in verse, with four hexameters and three pentameters (M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 184), whereas the allegedly oracular and older Great Rhetra is preserved in prose (van Wees, ‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, 22). This is very much in keeping with a pronouncement said to have come from the oracle at Delphi. The fact that this oracle is recorded in verse whereas the so-called Great Rhetra is recorded in prose has been employed by van Wees to argue that the Great Rhetra is not an authentic oracle. But van Wees probably reads too much into this, because numerous oracles have been recorded in prose (see J.D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* (Chichester 2011), 99; E. Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk Among the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford 2007), 55 for two sixth-century prose oracles from Dodona), which provides some support for the tradition that the Great Rhetra was endorsed by Delphi.

Raaflaub argues that Tyrtaios’ words cannot be a verbatim quotation of the oracle either, because the priests formulated the Pythia’s utterings in dactylic hexameters rather than elegiac couplets. What we have here is Tyrtaios’ own interpretation and adaptation of the oracle, with the pentameters as “fillers” which “fleshed out” what was the general understanding of the clause, what Raaflaub calls “his reading” (K. Raaflaub, ‘Athenian and Spartan *Eunomia*, or: What to Do with Solon’s Timocracy?, in J.H. Blok and A.P.M.H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens: New Historical and Philological Approaches* (Leiden 2006), 397).

2. Tyrtaios’ text reveals the kings and the aged elders are “to be first in counsel”. The πρεσβυγενέας mentioned by Plutarch in the rider are clearly the elders, who will later become members of the council of elders at Sparta, the so-called *Gerousia*. In the oracle quoted by Plutarch and Diodoros they are described as πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας (F 3a), and πρεσβυγενεῖς

δὲ γέροντας (F 3b). Although the term ἀρχαγέτας cited in the rider would normally mean “founder”, the *archagetai* have long been recognised as the Spartan kings because that is how Plutarch/Aristotle explains the term. That the term *basileus* is used in the oracle as reported by both Plutarch and Diodoros should be seen to confirm this (Ogden, ‘Crooked Speech’, 89), although some modern scholars argue that term should be understood as meaning “founders” (I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994), 241-50; Nafissi, ‘Great Rhetra’, 104-106).

3. Tyrtaios’ text goes on to explain that the people will be “responding with (or “to”) to straight rhetras” (εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένων) to the kings and elders. Van Wees (‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, 9-10) has argued that, of the two choices, this passage should be translated as responding “to” straight rhetras. Van Wees’ suggestion has met with strong resistance from Meier (‘Tyrtaios und die große Rhetra’, 82), but equivocal praise from Raaflaub (‘Spartan *Eunomia*’, 396 who describes van Wees’ translation as “perhaps right”).

4. Diodoros has three lines not included by Plutarch: the people are “to speak the best and to do all justice and to not counsel anything <crooked> for this city; and let the mass of the people have both victory and strength; for Phoibos has brought light concerning these things to the city”.

For the corrupt line μήδε τι † ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει <σκολιόν> † I have followed West in accepting Bach’s supplement of <σκολιόν> which Ogden (‘Crooked Speech’, 87 n19) argues is now “universally accepted” (although this has been rejected recently by Nafissi, ‘Great Rhetra’, 100). The rider also has the term σκολιάν: “and if the people should choose crookedly the elders and the *archagetai* are to be setters-aside”. Ogden (‘Crooked Speech’, esp. 91-8) argues strongly that the language of the rider draws upon the analogy of deformity, specifically the imagery of the exposure of deformed children. W. Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954), 186, suggested “with all due reserve”: μηδ’ ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει τι κακόν (“and not counsel badly for this city”), and van Wees (‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, 9) suggests this should be restored as μηδ’ ἔτι βουλεύειν (“and not counsel further”).

Each of these solutions allows for only a limited amount of power and responsibility in decision making by the masses. Yet the penultimate line cited by Diodoros “and let the mass of the people have both victory and strength” implies far greater powers for the people. This line bears some resemblance to the line in the Great Rhetra, “but to the people should belong the right to respond as well as power”.

What Diodoros provides is therefore something which he appears to attribute to Lykourgos, but is not the Great Rhetra as described by Plutarch/Aristotle, and is actually what Plutarch calls the Rider, but is supplemented with material that resembles the final message of the Great Rhetra i.e. “to the people belong...the power”. It would appear then that something has gone very wrong in the transmission of these texts.

Van Wees (‘Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, 22-5) has argued that the rider is in fact the original Spartan constitution, and that what we know as the Great Rhetra was a later rhetra which provided greater clarity regarding the role of the kings and elders (including defining the composition of the *Gerousia*). Central to his hypothesis is the argument that εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένων should be translated not “replying *with* straight rhetras” but “replying *to* straight rhetras”. This would make the central thrust of the alleged “rider” the obedience of the people to the decisions made by their elders and kings, whereas the allegedly earlier Great

Rhetra gave the people more sweeping powers in the clause “to the people should belong...the power”.

The fact that neither Plutarch nor Diodoros seem to have a secure grasp of who received the oracle lends support to van Wees’ hypothesis that the chronology both authors provide is wrong. It should be borne in mind that Odgen (‘Crooked Speech’, 100-2) essentially reaches the same conclusion as van Wees about the chronology of the Great Rhetra and the rider, but not the meaning of εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους, which he translates as “responding with straight rhetras” (87). A. Luther, *König und Ephoren. Untersuchungen zur spartanischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Frankfurt 2004), 90-2) has offered support for van Wees’ conclusions.

However, the majority of modern scholars have not accepted van Wees’ conclusions, and M. Meier, ‘Tyrtaios und die große Rhetra’, 65-87, published a stern critique, to which van Wees responded with equal conviction (H. van Wees, ‘Gute Ordnung ohne Große Rhetra – Noch einmal zu Tyrtaios’ Eunomia’, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (2002), 89-103). Subsequently Link, Kōiv, and Raaflaub have rejected van Wees’ arguments (S. Link, ‘Eunomie im Schoß der Rhetra? Zum Verhältnis von Tyrt. frgm. 14 W und Plut. Lyk. 6,2 und 8, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 6 (2003), 141-50; Kōiv, ‘Spartan Constitution’, 233-64; Raaflaub, ‘Spartan Eunomia’, 395). More recently Nafissi has offered support for van Wees’ suggestion that Tyrtaios did not know the Great Rhetra, but at the same time has rated Odgen’s very similar argument as “difficult to accept” (Nafissi, ‘Great Rhetra’, 98-9, 103 n70). Nafissi’s own conclusion is that the Great Rhetra was a later “intentional reconstruction of a legislative/oracular act that was thought to have created the Spartan community” which post-dated the verse oracle preserved by Plutarch and Diodoros (Nafissi, ‘Great Rhetra’, 89).

Can we provide a date for this major event? The safest answer is no. Attempts to provide anything approaching a precise date for any event in Spartan history prior to the sixth-century are best avoided, and if Nafissi’s recent suggestion that the Great Rhetra is an Archaic period invention that would post-date Tyrtaios altogether holds (Nafissi, ‘Great Rhetra’, 113), any attempt to provide a date based on Tyrtaios would be an exercise in futility.

580 F 5 - M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: various Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
ήμετέρω βασιλῇ, θεοῖσι φίλωι Θεοπόμπω, / ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἶλομεν εὐρύχορον, / Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν / ἄμφ’ αὐτὴν δ’ ἐμάχοντ’ ἐννέα καὶ δέκ’ ἔτη / νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες / αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες / ἰκοστῷ δ’ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πῖονα ἔργα λιπόντες / φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.	To our king Theopompos, beloved by the gods, because of whom we took spacious Messene, Messene, a good thing to plough, good to plant For nineteen years fought over it, unceasingly, always stout-hearted and spirited, the spearmen fathers of our fathers; and in the twentieth they, abandoning their rich fields, fled from the great mountains of Ithome.

580 F 5 Critical apparatus

ἀγαθὴν Buttmann; ἀγαθὸν Jacoby, West

φυτεῦσαι Olympiodorus; φυτεύειν Schol. Plat. Laws, Jacoby, West

ἄμφ’ αὐτὴν Pausanias; ἄμφω τώδε Strabo

ἐμάχοντ’ Pausanias; μάχονται Strabo

αἰχμηταὶ Pausanias; αἰχμητὰς Strabo

ἡμετέρων Pausanias; ἡ μετέρων Strabo

580 F 5 Commentary

I have produced here the text of West’s fragment 5 which is a composite of the content of Pausanias (F 5b) and Strabo (F 5f). Jacoby included the Pausanias fragment as F 4, the Strabo passage as F 6, and the scholiast to Plato’s Laws (F 5c) as F 5.

For detailed commentaries on the content of this fragment see 580 F 5a, F5 b, and F 5e.

580 F 5a - PAUSAN. 4, 6, 5	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: c. 150 AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
οὗτος δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ πολέμῳ · μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα «ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῇ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμῳ, / ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἴλομεν εὐρύχορον».	This Theopompos was the one who brought about the end of the war, and my evidence is the elegies of Tyrtaios, saying: “To our king Theopompos, beloved by the gods, because of whom we took spacious Messene”.

580 F 5a Commentary

Pausanias dates the conquest of “spacious Messene” to the reign of King Theopompos, the same Theopompos who is said to have drafted the “rider” to the Great Rhetra, which had strengthened the powers of the kings and the elders (see *BNJ* 580 F 4b).

Attempts to provide anything approaching a precise date for any of the Spartan kings prior to the sixth-century kings Ariston and Anaxandridas are largely doomed to failure. But modern scholars generally agree that the Spartans first brought Messenia under control in either the

late eighth century or the early seventh century BC (see M. Nafissi, ‘Sparta’, in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 121).

Tyrtaios consistently uses the name Μεσσήνη to refer to both the land and the city of the Messenians. After the fourth-century BC liberation of the Messenians the area came to be known as Μεσσήνη and their main city was known as Ithome. Over time the city came to be known as Μεσσήνη, and the *polis* territory as a whole Messenia (N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 71 n8). But clearly Messene means more than just the city for Tyrtaios – why else would he call Messene “spacious”?

580 F 5b - SCHOL. PLAT. Laws. 1 p. 629 A	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: post 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὗτος (Tyrtaios) εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐπίπνους γενόμενος, συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἀνελέσθαι τὸν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμον, προτρέπων παντοίως, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ φερόμενον εἰπεῖν ἔπος «Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν».	And this man (Tyrtaios) on coming to Lakedaimon and becoming inspired advised them to renew the war against the Messenians, urging in every way, in which also the famous utterance: “Messene, a good thing to plough, good to plant”.

580 F 5b Commentary

The scholiast here quotes Tyrtaios’ famous utterance (literally, “the utterance being brought forward to be said”), “Messene, a thing good to plough, good to plant”, and notes that Tyrtaios inspired the Spartans to renew the war against the Messenians. There has been some scholarly debate on the meaning of this statement. Some scholars have taken “good to plough” as it were written in the future i.e. to mean *it would be* good to plough (e.g. J. Kroymann, *Sparta und Messenien: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der messenischen Kriege* (Berlin 1937), 149). But others interpret this as referring to the present: *it is* good to plough (e.g. W. Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954), 75). The former would imply that Messenia was yet to be conquered or partially subdued, the latter that it already had been but was in peril. It is possible to accommodate both views and argue that it means that Messenia had been conquered but was lost temporarily in the revolt. For a brief discussion of the agricultural potential of Messene which concludes that Messene was indeed good to plough, see S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 142-5. See also P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012), 67.

The notion that Tyrtaios encouraged the Spartans to “renew” the war against the Messenians matches some of our sources (e.g. Diodoros 580 T 20), but does not accord with the tradition that the Spartans were advised by an oracle to acquire Tyrtaios to complete an ongoing war, which they desired to complete of their own volition (Schol. Plato, *Laws* 1.629a-b, 580 T 3; *Suda* s.v. Τυρταῖος = 580 T 1a).

580 F 5c - OLYMPIODOROS. COMMENTARY ON PLATO, <i>ALCIBIADES</i> 162	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="c"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 6th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
<p>ὅτι Μεσσήνην ἐλόντες ἠφώρισαν αὐτὴν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκῶν χορηγίαν· περὶ ἧς ἔφη Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητὴς «Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεῦσαι»· ἦν γὰρ εὖγεος ἡ χώρα.</p>	<p>Because upon seizing Messene they marked it out for the supply of necessities; concerning which Tyrtaios the poet says, “Messene, a good thing to plough, good to plant”, for the land is of good soil.</p>

580 F 5c Commentary

Olympiodoros is commenting here on Plato, *Alcibiades* 122d-e, which reads:

“Think of all the land that they have both in their own and in the Messenian country: not one of our estates could compete with theirs in extent and excellence, nor again in ownership of slaves, and especially of those of the helot class, nor yet of horses, nor of all the flocks and herds that graze in Messene”.

The Tyrtaios quotation about Messene’s arable qualities does not entirely accord with Plato’s observation about “the flocks and herds that graze in Messene”. See Hodkinson who argues that we should not interpret the line “a good thing to plough” as evidence that that eastern plains of Messenia were devoted solely to agriculture” (S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 142).

580 F 5d - STRABON 8, 5, 6	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="d"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Geography; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 64 BC - AD 21 Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
<p>καὶ ὑποβὰς τῶν πάλων φησὶν ὧν οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐποιήσαντο, τὸν μὲν πρότερον γενέσθαι «γαίης Λακαίνης κύριον, φαύλου χθονός·» τὸν δὲ δεύτερον τῆς Μεσσήνης «ἀρετὴν ἐχούσης μείζον’ ἢ λόγῳ φράσαι.» οἷαν καὶ ὁ Τυρταῖος φράζει.</p>	<p>and a little below, speaking of the lots which the Herakleidai cast for the country, he (Euripides) says the first became “lord of the land of Lakonia, poor country”, and the second of Messenia, “having fertility greater than can be said in words”; and Tyrtaios speaks of it in the same manner.</p>

580 F 5d Commentary

Here Strabo is discussing the relative quality of the soil in the Peloponnese. Whereas Lakonia is poor, Messenia has “fertility greater than can be said in words”. These come from Euripides’ *Temenidai* (F 1089N) . Strabo indicates that Tyrtaios says the same as Euripides, and while he does not quote Tyrtaios again it seems likely that Strabo is here referring to the lines of Tyrtaios that he means the lines “Messene a good thing to plough...”.

Earlier in the fragment Euripides indicates that Lakonia had “arable land in abundance, but hard to work; for it is set deep within encircling mountains, rough, and hard for enemies to invade”. But Lakonia is not actually poor farming land (P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012), 79 n58), it is merely comparatively poor to Messenia, which is why the Herakleidai cast lots to see who would receive Messenia. There are two versions of the story. The first has the dispute between Temenos, Aristodemos’ sons Prokles and Eurysthenes, and Kresphontes, while the other has the dispute merely between the sons of Aristodemos and Kresphontes, with Temenos as the arbiter.

According to Apollodoros (2.8.4) they cast lots with the first drawing for Argos, the second for Lakonia, and the third for Messenia. The lots were cast into a pitcher of water, but while Temenos, Prokles and Eurysthenes threw in stones, Kresphontes cast in a clod of earth which dissolved, thus ensuring that he would receive Messenia. Polyainos (1.6) tells an almost identical story, but with the order Lakonia, Argos, Messenia. Pausanias (4.3.4-5) and Strabo have the lots cast only for Lakonia and Messenia, but the result is the same with the wily Kresphontes ensuring he receives the better land.

580 F 5e - STRABON 6, 3, 3 p. 279	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="e"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Geography; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 64 BC - AD 21 Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
<p>Μεσσήνη δὲ ἐάλω πολεμηθεῖσα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη, καθάπερ καὶ Τυρταῖος φησι · «ἄμφ’ αὐτὴν δ’ ἐμάχοντ’ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη, / νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, / αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες · / εἰκοστῷ <δ> οἱ μὲν κατὰ πῖονα ἔργα λιπόντες / φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων».</p>	<p>But as for Messene it was captured after nineteen years of war (Ephoros 70 F 216), as Tyrtaios also says: “For nineteen years fought over it, unceasingly, always stout- hearted and spirited, the spearmen fathers of our fathers; and in the twentieth they, abandoning their rich fields, fled from the great mountains of Ithome”.</p>

580 F 5e Commentary

Strabo (quoting Ephoros) notes that the Messenian War was waged for nineteen years. Strabo then cites Tyrtaios to prove this. Once again we are dealing with an extremely late source quoting Tyrtaios, in this case perhaps even second hand. Again, the perils of taking the word of Strabo for anything other than the actual words of Tyrtaios cannot be overestimated, particularly considering Tyrtaios is being cited alongside one of the fourth-century writers of imaginary Messenian history.

The description of the “fathers of our fathers” clearly matches Strabo’s later claim (Tyrtaios F 2) that Tyrtaios says in his works the first conquest in fact took place in the time of “the fathers of fathers”. But any attempt to take his words literally (as Jacoby did; so, too, for example, W. Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954), 73; J.T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans* (London 1980), 100; H. Michell, *Sparta* (Cambridge 1964), 16; A.H.M. Jones, *Sparta* (Oxford 1967), 2, D.E. Gerber, *Euterpe: An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegaic, and Iambic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1970), 71, to name but a few) should be reconsidered. A more likely interpretation is that Tyrtaios’ words should be understood to mean “distant ancestors” (for merely the most recent advocates of this meaning see N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 70; M. Nafissi, ‘Sparta’, in K.A. Raafaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 121). For a recent advocate of the older view taking into account the conventional ancient Greek understanding of a generation span of thirty years see N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 41.

Tyrtaios’ statement that the Messenians abandoned their “rich fields” points to the real reason for the war and the centuries of Spartan occupation which followed. The conquest of Messenia allowed the Spartans to reduce social inequality within their own ranks, and the exploitation of Messenian land underpinned the entire Spartan way of life until the loss of Messenia in 369 BC more than three centuries later.

Tyrtaios’ line “<and> in the twentieth (year) they abandoning their rich fields fled from the great mountains of Ithome” indicates that when they were defeated the Messenians abandoned both their pastures and their mountain stronghold on Ithome. This is usually seen as the beginning of helotage in Messenia. But Luraghi has called into question the “view of later versions that...implied that the defeated Messenians, or at least the majority of them, remained in their region, to be reduced to the status of Helots in due course” (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 70).

Luraghi argues that this line means “the Spartans conquered their land and drove them away”. (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 70; N. Luraghi, ‘The Imaginary Conquest of the Helots’, in N. Luraghi and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Cambridge MA, 2003), 111). Luraghi (*Messenians*, 70 n4) has strongly criticised van Wees for arguing that οἱ μὲν (“the others”) means “some”, and that therefore only some Messenians ran away (H. Van Wees, ‘Conquerors and Serfs: Wars of Conquest and Forced Labour in Archaic Greece’, in N. Luraghi and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Cambridge MA, 2003), 35 n6). The implicit thrust of these statements is, if all the Messenians fled, how did they become helots? This conclusion allows Luraghi to argue that the oppressed peoples described by Tyrtaios in F 7 are not helots, but rather some other dependant labour force, and that helotry as we know was a mirage designed to mask the normalisation of different forms of dependent labour (N. Luraghi, ‘Helotic Slavery Reconsidered’, in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Sparta: Beyond the Mirage* (Swansea 2002), 233-8; Luraghi, *Messenians*, 74; 114-5). Nafissi (‘Sparta’, 122) states that “he would not exclude the possibility that Tyrtaeus speaks derisively of a perioikic community that has rebelled against Sparta, likening its members to slaves and exaggerating its economic plight”), but Grethlein argues that Luraghi’s scepticism is “unnecessary” (J. Grethlein, *The Greeks and their Past: Poetry, Oratory and History in the Fifth Century BCE* (Cambridge 2010), 293 n14).

While I am inclined to agree with the broad conclusion that helotage as understood by Classical and Hellenistic sources is a much simplified vision of a much more complicated picture, I find it very hard to accept the argument that this one tiny fragment demonstrates that Tyrtaios believed that all the Messenians abandoned their homeland. For this argument relies on an overly literal understanding of what Tyrtaios is telling us when he says they “fled”. Surely we should not expect to understand him to mean that every single Messenian left his homeland? Certainly some Messenians must have fled for good. But others must have surrendered or been captured as they fled. The reality (if we have any hope of finding it) must have been that some of the Messenians were killed, some fled, and some were kept as a dependent labour force that would ultimately become the Messenian helots. Indeed that is the view of the Suda (580 T 1a) and Aelian (*VH* 6.1: “some men were left to farm the land, some were sold into slavery, and others killed”). I am not seriously advocating taking their testimony as completely reliable, but broadly speaking their testimony makes sense. It is certainly a more plausible and consistent interpretation than Luraghi’s contention that Tyrtaios should be understood literally when he says that all the Messenians left but not when he refers to events taking place in the time of “the fathers of our fathers”.

580 F 5f - PAUSANIAS 4, 15, 2	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="f"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: c. 150 AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
<p>ἐν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνι οἳ τινες τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύοντες, Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε, Ῥιανὸς δ’ ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου. Ῥιανῷ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε σὺδαμῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο συνθήσομαι· Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὁμῶς εἰρηκέναι τις ἂν ἐν τῷδε ἡγοῖτο. ἐλεγεία γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πόλεμον· <πεποιημένα> «ἀμφ’ αὐτῇ δ’ ἐμάχοντ’ ἑννέα καὶ δέκ’ ἔτη / νωλεμέως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, / αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες.» δῆλα οὖν ἐστιν ὥς ὕστερον τρίτη γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν</p>	<p>Tyrtaios has not recorded the names of those who happened to be reigning in Lakedaïmon at that time, but Rhianos wrote in his verses that Leotychidas was king at the time of this war. I for my part in no wise agree with Rhianos on this. Although Tyrtaios does not make a statement one might consider him to have said something in the following; for there are elegaic verses written by him regarding the earlier war “For nineteen years fought over it, unceasingly, always stout-hearted and spirited, the spearmen fathers of our fathers”; It is clear then that the Messenians went to war afterwards in the third generation.</p>

580 F 5f Commentary

Pausanias here criticises Rhianos for naming Leotychides at the Spartan king at the time of the Messenian war. His argument is based on the fact that Leotychides was king during the Persian wars, and therefore cannot have been king in the seventh century BC. But Pausanias has not realised that there were two kings named Leotychidas, the fifth-century king who served as a commander at the Battle of Mykale and a homonymous ancestor (Herodotos 8.131).

Pausanias' confusion here led to the so-called Rhianos-hypothesis which was first developed by Schwartz in 1899 (E. Schwartz, 'Tyrtaios', *Hermes* 34 (1899), 428-68), but also adopted by others (including U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker', *AGG* 42 (1900), 104 n. 5), Jacoby (*FGrH* 265, 109-95), G.L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962), 87-96, E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* 1 (Stockholm 1965), 342 n269, W.G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta* (London 1968), 69, P. Oliva, *Sparta and her Social Problems* (Prague 1971), 139-45). This hypothesis held that Rhianos' lost work *Messenika* described not the seventh-century Messenian war, but rather a Messenian rebellion in 490 BC. Inspiration was drawn from partly from Pausanias' insistence that Leotychidas was the fifth-century king, and partly from Plato's claim that the Spartans were too late at the Battle of Marathon because of a rebellion of Messenians (Plato, *Laws* 698d-e). A central tenet of the hypothesis was that Pausanias had not read either Myron or Rhianos on the Messenian wars, but rather a putative Source 'A' from the late Hellenistic or early Roman period who refashioned Rhianos' work to suit the war against the Messenians fought in Tyrtaios' day. Schwartz's initial hypothesis was part of wider argument that all of Tyrtaios' seventh-century fragments were Classical inventions.

But the Rhianos-hypothesis is now largely discredited (NB Hunt's recent dismissal of it as "source criticism gone berserk" (P.A. Hunt, *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (Cambridge 1998), 29 n12), thanks largely to the work of Pearson (L. Pearson, 'The Pseudo-History of Messenia and its Authors', *Historia* 11 (1962), 397-426) and H.T. Wade-Gery ('The 'Rhianos-Hypothesis'', in E. Badian (ed.), *Ancient Society and Institutions* (Oxford 1966), 289-302) who argued that the history of Messenia as described by Pausanias and other later writers was a type of "creative history writing" (Pearson, 'Pseudo-History', 425), which came after the liberation of Messenia required by Epaminondas. For more see D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene: Legends of Sparta's Nemesis* (Swansea 2004), 170-5; Christesen *BNJ* 106 F 3; Bertelli *BNJ* 265 F38.

580 F 5g - PAUSANIAS 4, 13, 6	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="5" n-mod="g"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Geography; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: c. 150 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation
... περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξέλιπον τὴν Ἰθώμην, πολέμησαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα εἴκοσι, καθὰ καὶ Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν «εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πῖονα ἔργα λιπόντες / φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων».	... but around the year's end they deserted Ithome, having fought twenty years in all, just as is written by Tyrtaios: "But in the twentieth they, abandoning their rich fields, fled from the great mountains of Ithome".

580 F 5g Commentary

Pausanias here describes the surrender of Ithome by the Messenians. For more on this see 580 F 5e.

580 F 6 - PAUSAN. 4, 14, 4	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="6"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Genre: Geography; Military history; Everyday Culture: Slavery Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: c. 150 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔσχεν οὕτως · πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὄρκον μήτε ἀποστῆναι ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν μήτε ἄλλο ἐργάσασθαι νεώτερον μηδέν, δεύτερα δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπέταζαν εἰρημένον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γεωργουμένων τροφῶν σφισιν ἀπέφερον ἐς Σπάρτην πάντων τὰ ἡμίσεα. προεῖρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ · καὶ τοῖς παραβᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο ποινή. <ἐς τὰς> τιμωρίας δὲ αἷς ὕβριζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, Τυρταίωι πεπονημένα ἐστὶν «ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι, / δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς / ἥμισυ πᾶνθ' ὅσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει».</p>	<p>And the Messenians themselves were treated by the Lakedaimonians in this way; first they exacted an oath from them to not rebel from them ever, and not to attempt any other revolution, and secondly they imposed no fixed tribute, but used to bring half of all their agricultural produce to Sparta. It was also ordered publicly that, for funerals of kings and other officials, men from Messene and their wives should appear dressed in black; and on those who disobeyed a fine was laid. And for the vengeance which they wantonly imposed on the Messenians, there are the words composed by Tyrtaios: "Like asses worn down by great burdens bringing to their masters out of dire necessity half of all the crop the tilled land bears".</p>

580 F 6 Critical apparatus

πᾶνθ' ὅσ(σ)ων Pausanias; πᾶν ὅσων Kuhn, Jacoby; παντὸς ὅσον Ahrens; πᾶν ὅσων Wilamowitz; πᾶνθ' ὅσων

580 F 6 Commentary

Jacoby treated both references to Tyrtaios in Pausanias 4.14.4 as one fragment (F 7), but I have followed West's decision to separate the references into two fragments. For a commentary on the content of both fragments see 580 F 7.

580 F 7 - PAUSAN. 4, 14, 4	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="7"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Everyday Culture: Slavery Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: c. 150 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th century BC	Translation

ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς
ἀνάγκη, δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷιδε · «δεσπότης
οἰμῶζοντες ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί, /
εὔτε τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου».

And that they were compelled to share the
mourning he shows in the following:
“Wailing for their masters, both they and
their wives, whenever the destructive doom
of death comes upon any”.

580 F 7 Commentary

Although Jacoby treated F 6 and F 7 as one fragment, Pausanias really does provide us with two fragments of Tyrtaios' work here. The first is cited to demonstrate that the Spartans “wantonly imposed” a dreadful vengeance on the Messenians, namely that “Like asses worn down by great burdens bringing to their masters out of dire necessity half of all the crop the tilled land bears”. The second to demonstrate that the Messenians were compelled to join the Spartans in mourning when Spartans died: “Wailing for their masters, both they and their wives alike, whenever the destructive doom of death comes upon any”. But once again we are dealing with an extremely late source, and the perils of taking the word of Pausanias for anything other than the actual words of Tyrtaios cannot be overestimated. As Hodkinson puts it, Pausanias' account is “heavily influenced by the pseudo-historical Messenian tradition which developed after her liberation in 370/69” (S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 128).

The first quotation – that the Messenians were “Like asses worn down by great burdens bringing to their masters out of dire necessity half of all the crop the tilled land bears” – is frequently cited as evidence that in the Archaic and Classical periods the dues extracted from helots by their Spartiate masters were organised on a share-cropping basis (e.g. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth*, 125-31). This is a vital passage in this modern debate, for it is fundamentally at odds with the testimony of Plutarch (*Moralia* 239f; *Lyc.* 8.4, 24.3) that the helots were obliged to provide a fixed amount (*apophora*) of produce for their masters, attempts to make them pay more incurred a curse.

This is not a matter of minor importance – the answer to this question has considerable impact on our understanding of the everyday lives of helots. For while neither system is particularly pleasant for the unfree helots, a system of share-cropping would be far more equitable and secure for the helots than a fixed amount, for the latter means that the helots would bear all the risks of crop failure (Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth*, 129-30). There is, however, a third option. Figueira has argued that helots “paid over fixed rents that were envisaged as 50% of the ‘normal’ production of the allotments” (T.J. Figueira, ‘The Demography of the Spartan Helots’, in N. Luraghi and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* (Cambridge MA, 2003), 200).

But this is all somewhat academic, for we cannot be certain that Tyrtaios is talking about arrangements that were in place in the Classical period. If we follow some scholars, we cannot even be certain that Tyrtaios is talking about helots! Nafissi speculates that they might be *perioikoi* (M. Nafissi, ‘Sparta’, in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 122). Luraghi has argued that the oppressed peoples described by Tyrtaios in F 6 and F 7 are not helots, but rather some other dependant labour force (N. Luraghi, ‘Helotic Slavery Reconsidered’, in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Sparta: Beyond the Mirage* (Swansea 2002), 233-8; N. Luraghi, ‘The Imaginary Conquest of the Helots’, in N. Luraghi and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and*

Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures (Cambridge MA, 2003), 114-5; N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 73-4). However, his hypothesis has been firmly rejected by Rose who argues that Tyrtaios is referring to “indigenous people” here (P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012), 299, 307).

The wording “Like asses worn down by great burdens” has been interpreted variously as “unexpected compassion” for the “poor Messenians” (M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 188), “gloating” (H. van Wees, ‘Oath of the Sworn Bands, the Acharnae stele, the Oath of Plataea and Archaic Spartan Warfare’, in A. Luther, M. Meier, and L. Thommen (eds.), *Das Frühe Sparta* (Stuttgart 2006), 129; P.W. Rose, ‘Class’, in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 478; elsewhere Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece*, 299, refers to Tyrtaios as “gleefully” describing the helots’ plight), or an attempt to scare Spartans to fight to avoid similar punishment themselves (C. Fuqua, ‘Tyrtaeus and the cult of heroes’, *GRBS* 22 (1981), 220; R.D. Luginbill, ‘Tyrtaeus 12 West: Come Join the Spartan Army’, *CQ* 52 (2002), 410).

That helots were required to mourn their masters is similar to the testimony of Herodotos (6.58) that helots were forced to mourn for the kings at their deaths. Pausanias is clearly conflating Tyrtaios and Herodotos when he states that the helots were compelled to mourn “the kings and other officials” (H. van Wees, ‘Conquerors and Serfs: Wars of Conquest and Forced Labour in Archaic Greece’, in N. Luraghi and S.E. Alcock (eds.), *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures* Cambridge MA, 2003), 35 n7). The fact that he confuses Herodotos’ testimony about helots with testimony from Tyrtaios, which he appears to believe relates to a time before helots, casts further doubt on Pausanias’ understanding of the context of these crucial lines of Tyrtaios’ poetry.

Pausanias’ testimony that the Messenians were obliged to swear an oath not to rebel is intriguing, but casts yet more doubt on the reliability of his conclusions and source material overall. If the Spartans did impose an oath on the Messenians it would be one of the earliest recorded interstate oaths in the Greek world. The earliest recorded historical interstate agreement involving Greeks that was sealed with an oath is the alliance between the Spartans and Croesus of Lydia ca.560-550 BC (Hdt. 1.69); the earliest recorded Greek peace treaty sealed with an oath is the Five Years’ Truce between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians in 451/0 BC (Thuc. 1.112.1), and the earliest recorded truce to end a siege was sworn in 508 BC when the Spartan king Cleomenes surrendered to the Athenians when he was besieged on the Athenian acropolis (Hdt. 5.72). (For more detail see A.H. Sommerstein and A.J. Bayliss, *Oath and State in Ancient Greece* (Berlin 2013), 189, 244-5, 292). The fact that Pausanias cannot provide a line from Tyrtaios to endorse this claim perhaps suggests that this was a later invention (Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth*, 128). Pausanias’ oath story clearly reflects Classical and Hellenistic religious practices, not those of Archaic Greece. That the defeated helots were compelled to swear an oath is reminiscent of the oath that the Spartans extracted from rebellious helots who surrendered at Ithome in the 450s BC. When the helots withdrew from Ithome the Spartans compelled them to swear an oath that they would never set foot in Messenia again (Thuc. 1.103.1). Those oaths may be the origin of Pausanias’ unreliable story. Although Pausanias does not indicate it, the alleged oath not to rebel makes the Messenians who did rebel perjurers, which perhaps suggests that element of the story owed its origins to the Spartan rather than the Messenian imagination.

<p>Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: Eunomia Source date: 64 BC - AD 21 Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 8th and 7th century BC</p>	<p>Translation</p>
<p>πλεονάκις δ' ἐπολέμησαν διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. #paraphrase# τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησι Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι· # τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ † Ἠλείους καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνος, #paraphrase# ἡνίκα φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.</p>	<p>Frequently they made war because of the revolts of the Messenians. Certainly Tyrtaios says in his works that the first conquest in fact took place in the time of the fathers of the fathers; But the second took place when they revolted, having taken as allies the Argives, Eleans, and Pisatans, the Arkadians providing Aristokrates the King of Orchomenos as general, and the Pisatans Pantaleon, son of Omphalion, at the time when he (Tyrtaios) says he himself served as general in the war for the Lakedaimonians.</p>

580 F 8 Critical apparatus

ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτῶ[ν] κατὰ Verrall; ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ Jacoby; ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ West

Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ † Ἠλείους <Ἀρκάδας> καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν Coray, Jacoby; Πυλίου <καὶ Ἀρκάδας> Schwartz; Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ † Ἠλείους καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν West

580 F 8 Commentary

This extract from Strabo precedes Tyrtaios F 3. Strabo here notes that the rebellion took place when Tyrtaios himself was a Spartan general. Other evidence of this tradition comes from the Athenian orator Lykourgos (*Against Leokrates* 106), the *Suda* (s.v. Τυρταῖος), and Philochoros (Athenaeus 14.630f), who talks of Tyrtaios' "generalship". Diodoros (8.27.1) calls Tyrtaios the "leader" of the Spartans, Pausanias (4.15.6) refers to him as a "counsellor", while in a saying attributed to Pausanias the Spartan regent Tyrtaios is called *hēgemōn*" (Plut. *Moralia* 230d).

When assessing this fragment of Tyrtaios' poetry we must remember that his words have been preserved by an author writing not only almost half a millennium after Tyrtaios was writing, but also several centuries after the Messenians had successfully rebelled from the Spartans in 370/69 BC. In the intervening years "Tyrtaeus' bare reference to the First Messenian War was much embellished by later fancy" (J.T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans* (London 1980), 101). This process whereby "patriotic, emotional tales which were manufactured to give Messenia

an early history” in the fourth century BC (C.G. Starr, ‘The Credibility of Early Spartan History’, *Historia* 14 (1965), 259) distorted not only the facts but also the meaning of Tyrtaios’ words. This means that not only was Strabo long removed from his source material, but that his interpretation of Tyrtaios’ words was heavily influenced by this unreliable tradition. This fragment *as it is represented by Strabo* is therefore of questionable reliability.

In the light of this, several of Strabo’s points merit further discussion:

1. Strabo reports that Tyrtaios says the conquest of Messenia took place “in the time of the fathers of fathers” (κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας), a phrase which is repeated in Tyrtaios F 5f where Tyrtaios speaks of “the fathers of our fathers” (πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες). This phrase has been much debated, and has been used to try to date the conquest of Messenia, the date of the Second Messenian War, or both. Some scholars including Jacoby have advocated reading this literally, that the conquest of Messenia took place in the time of Tyrtaios’ grandfather (e.g. W. Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954), 70-1, who advocates reading this as “two generations”, and N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 41, who suggests “working on the conventional ancient span of about thirty years per generation”), as indeed the ancients did (M. Nafissi, ‘Sparta’, in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 121). But others advocate a figurative reading of the phrase to denote distant ancestors (E. Schwartz, ‘Tyrtaeos’, *Hermes* 34 (1899), 429; N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 70). In either case, even if the exact date for the conquest of Messenia was known in Tyrtaios’ day, it was no longer known by the time Strabo reported Tyrtaios’ words.

2. Strabo claims that when the Messenians revolted, they did so “having taken the Argives, Eleans, and Pisatans as their allies”. Although the Arkadians are not named in the manuscripts many modern scholars have emended this section to include them because their involvement appears to be required by the choice of Aristokrates as general. But there is nothing in the manuscript to suggest a lacuna, so I have followed West in not adopting this amendment, which Ogden rightly describes as “underjustified” (D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene: Legends of Sparta’s Nemesis* (Swansea 2004), 179 n6). Strabo then goes on to say that this was “at the time when he (Tyrtaios) says he himself served as general in the war for the Lakedaimonians”.

The involvement of the Arkadians and Argives in the Messenian Wars is apparently confirmed by Tyrtaios F 23a = *P.Oxy.* xlvii.3316, which mentions “the light armed men running forward” followed by a line which reads [...]καδες Ἀργείωνυελ[...]χ[---]. Gerber translates this as “Arcadians(?) ... of the Argives(?)”, and Cartledge has even seen this as evidence that Sparta was preoccupied with Argos as early as the seventh century (P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300 to 362 BC*² (London 2002), 109).

But the reference to Arkadians in F 23a is by no means certain, with εικάδας, δεκάδες, and μηκάδες among many possible alternative readings (for more on this see F 23a). Moreover, Tausend has argued persuasively that this list of allies provided by Strabo bears a remarkable resemblance to the allies who fought alongside the Messenians against the Spartans after the liberation in Messenia in 370 BC. (K. Tausend, *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie. Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart 1992), 145-61; K. Tausend, ‘Argos und der Tyrtaios papyrus *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3316’, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 197-201; Luraghi, *Messenians*, 79 n35, who describes Tausend’s 1992 argument as a “brilliant demonstration”). Moreover, the Pisatans cannot have been allies in the sense that Strabo

indicates, because they were not an independent state until 365 BC (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 79), and Aristokrates, the Orchomenian who will go on to betray the Messenians in Strabo's account, just happens to be king of the one major Arkadian city that remained loyal to Sparta in 370 BC when the Arkadians formed their own league (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.5.11-14; Luraghi, *Messenians*, 79-80) and the Messenians regained their independence, partly with Arkadian assistance (Diod. 15.66.1).

If we accept that it is unlikely that the alliance between the Messenians, Argives, Arkadians and Pisatans is historical, it is therefore very unlikely that this information comes from Tyrtaios at all but originates in fourth century myth-history as Jacoby suggested. This would mean that Strabo is effectively providing us with two separate Tyrtaios fragments, and that we should cut what we take from Strabo to merely: "Tyrtaios says in his works that the first conquest in fact took place in the time of the fathers of fathers; But the second when they revolted...at the time when he says he served as general in the war for the Lakedaimonians".

580 F 9 EUSTRATIOS (Comm. in Arist. <i>Graeca</i> xx.165.1)	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="9" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: 11th-12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγοι ἄν τοιαύτην γάρ τινα μάχην ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν ἐμαχέσαντο, ἧς καὶ Τυρταῖος μνημονεύει.	One might say this about the Lakedaimonians; for there was a battle such as this when they were at war fighting against the Messenians, as Tyrtaios recalls.

580 F 9 Commentary

The Byzantine commentator Eustratios here comments on the following passage from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1116a-b):

"And those drawing up troops in front of them and striking them if they give ground do the same thing; likewise those who draw them up in front of trenches and such things, for these are all using compulsion. And it is necessary to be brave not because of compulsion, but because it is noble."

Eustratios explains that the Persians fought under the lash at Thermopylae, and goes on to claim that one could say the same about Spartans "for there was a battle such as this when they were at war fighting against the Messenians, as Tyrtaios recalls". This is presumably a reference to the Battle at the Trench recounted by Pausanias (4.17.2).

Some modern scholars take this information at face value. Thus Wheeler argues that Tyrtaios tells us that Spartan lack of discipline necessitated their deployment before a trench (E.L. Wheeler, 'The Hoplite as General', in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London 1993), 159 n43). The possible reference to a trench in F 23a is sometimes seen as confirming this (D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene: Legends of Sparta's*

Nemesis (Swansea 2004), 179), although this reading is by no means certain (for more see F 23a). Van Wees (H. van Wees ‘The Development of the Hoplite Phalanx: Iconography and Reality in the Seventh Century’, in H. van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London 2000), 162 n47) has even argued that these fragments together show that the Spartans do not yet fight as proper phalanx but rather fight in a loose formation (for more on this see F 11).

But it is not entirely certain what Eustratios means, so much so that Rose has argued that this passage shows that the Spartans were beaten when fighting against the Messenians (P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012), 281).

Given that Aristotle elsewhere cites Tyrtaios directly, the fact that he does not here perhaps suggests that he was not aware of the tradition that the Spartans fought against the Messenians before a trench, or at least that he was unaware (or had forgotten) that Tyrtaios mentioned it. Therefore all we can say for certain is that Eustratios thought that Tyrtaios said that the Spartans fought under some form of compulsion during the Messenian wars. And those drawing up troops in front of them and striking them if they give ground do the same thing; likewise those who draw them up in front of trenches and suchlike, for they all use compulsion. And it is necessary to be brave not because of compulsion, but because it is noble.

580 F 10 Lykourgos Against Leokrates 107	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="10"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history; Everyday Culture: death Historical Work: unknown Source date: 330 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες περὶ τούτου οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεστρατευμένοι ᾧσι, καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν ἀκουσομένους τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων ἅπαντας, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλῃν ἀποθνήσκειν. χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐλεγείων, ἵν' ἐπίστησθε οἷα ποιοῦντες εὐδοκίμουν παρ' ἐκείνοις· «τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα / ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧι πατρίδι μαρνάμενον· / τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίνονας ἀγροὺς / πτωχεύειν πάντων ἔστ' ἀνιηρότατον, / πλαζόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι / παισὶ τε σὺν μικροῖς κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ. / ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσεται οὓς κεν ἴκηται, / χρησιμοσύνη τ' εἰκὼν καὶ	And although they took no account of other poets, they paid such serious attention to him that they enacted a law, that whenever they were marching out under arms, to summon everyone to the king's tent to listen to the poems of Tyrtaios, thinking in this way they would be especially willing to die for their fatherland. And it is useful for you to listen to these elegies in order that you might know the sort of deeds those who gained good repute with the people then did: “For it is a beautiful thing for a good man to die having fallen in the front ranks fighting for his fatherland. To become a beggar having abandoned his city and rich fields is the most grievous of all, wandering with his dear mother and aged father, little children and wedded wife. For he will incur the hatred of those whom he supplicates, giving way to need and hateful poverty, he

στυγερῇ πενίῃ, / αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ
 δ' ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει, / πᾶσα δ' ἀτιμίη
 καὶ κακότης ἔπεται. / †εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνδρός
 τοι ἄλωμένου οὐδεμί' ὥρῃ / γίνεται οὐτ'
 αἰδῶς οὐτ' ὀπίσω γένεος. / θυμῷ γῆς πέρι
 τῆσδε μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων /
 θνήσκωμεν ψυχῶν μηκέτι φειδόμενοι. / ὦ
 νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι
 μένοντες, / μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχρῆς ἄρχετε
 μηδὲ φόβου, / ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιεῖτε καὶ
 ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν, / μηδὲ
 φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι· / τοὺς δὲ
 παλαιότερους, ὧν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
 / μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε, τοὺς
 γεραιούς. / αἰσchrὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ
 προμάχοισι πεσόντα / κεῖσθαι πρόσθε
 νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον, / ἥδη λευκὸν
 ἔχοντα κάρη πολὺν τε γένειον, / θυμὸν
 ἀποπνεύοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίῃ, /
 αἱματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν
 ἔχοντα— / αἰσchrὰ τὰ γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ
 νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν, / καὶ χρῶα γυμνωθέντα·
 νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν, / ὅφρ' ἐρατῆς
 ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ, / ἀνδράσι μὲν
 θνητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξὶ / ζωὸς ἐὼν,
 καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών. / ἀλλὰ τις
 εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι /
 στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν.»

disgraces his family line, and brings shame
 against his splendid form, and every
 dishonour and evil follow him. So then a
 man who wanders has no beauty and gains
 no respect, nor his family afterwards. Let us
 fight with spirit for this land and for our
 children no longer sparing our lives. Fight,
 young men, staying close by each other, and
 do not start shameful flight or panic, but
 make the spirit in your midriff big and brave,
 and do not live your life when fighting; and
 the older men, whose knees are no longer
 nimble, do not flee abandoning the
 honorable old men. For this brings shame,
 when an older man falls amongst the front
 ranks in front of the young men, already
 having a white head and grizzled beard,
 exhaling his brave spirit in the dust,
 clutching his bloody genitals in his clinging
 hands - these things are shameful to the eyes
 and unseemly to see, his flesh being naked;
 for the young everything is seemly, so long
 as he has the splendid flower of lovely
 youth, for men a wonder to see, and lovely
 to women when alive, and handsome too
 when they have fallen in the front ranks. But
 let everyone stand fast, both feet planted
 firmly on the ground, biting one's lips with
 his teeth".

580 F 10 Critical apparatus

ἐπὶ codd., ἐνὶ corr. Francke

χρησιμοσύνη εἰκὼν van Herwerden

εἶθ' οὕτως codd.; εἰ δ' οὕτως Gentili-Prato; †εἶθ' οὕτως West

οὐτ' . . . οὐτ' codd. NA; οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' Wilamowitz; οὐτ' . . . οὐδ' Gentili-Prato; οὐτ' ὅπως
οὐτ' ἔλεος Bergk;

θνήσκομεν ψυχᾶων NA; θνήσκωμεν ψυχέων Gentili-Prato; θνήσκωμεν ψυχῶν West

φίλης Schneidewin;

θνητοῖσιν codd., θνητὸς Reiske

580 F 10 Commentary

This fragment of Tyrtaios' poetry is quoted by the fourth-century Athenian orator Lykourgos in his prosecution speech against Leokrates delivered in 330 BC. From Lykourgos we learn that Leokrates was an Athenian blacksmith (1.58) who abandoned his homeland when he learned of the disastrous Athenian defeat at the hands of Philip II of Macedon in the Battle of Chaironeia in 338/7 BC (1.17). He travelled first to Rhodes (1.14) and then to Megara where he lived for five or six years as a resident alien (1.21-2). In the meantime he sold his property to his brother-in-law Amyntas, whom he instructed to pay his debts. Lykourgos stresses that Leokrates even withdrew the "sacred images" of his family (1.25-6), expecting them "to share his exile". On his return Lykourgos impeached him for treason. Lykourgos is essentially arguing that by abandoning his homeland in a crisis Leokrates has been a coward, and that his cowardice equates to treason. Lykourgos' speech is passionate and aimed to be persuasive, but ultimately Leokrates was acquitted by a single vote (Aeschines 3.252).

Lykourgos' preamble reveals much to us about Tyrtaios himself and his place in Spartan society, and Tyrtaios' words themselves reveal much about the development of hoplite warfare and Spartan values.

Lykourgos' claim that the Spartans took no account of other poets is clearly hyperbole. We know that the Spartans rated other poets highly including their own Alkman, the Lesbian Terpander, and the Cretan Thaletas. Plutarch reveals that the poems of Alkman and Terpander were so highly valued that helots were forbidden to perform them. When Theban forces penetrated Laconia and told the Helots they captured to sing the works of Terpander and Alkman and Spondon the Spartan, the latter declined, claiming that their masters did not approve (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28). We know that "lyric odes by Thaletas and Alkman, and the paians of Dionysodotos the Lakonian" were performed at the important festival of the Gymnopaïdiai (see Sosibios *BNJ* 595 F 5).

Nonetheless it is clear that the Spartans did take Tyrtaios very seriously, as Lykourgos suggests. His claim that the Spartans made it law that "whenever they were marching out under arms, to summon everyone to the king's tent to listen to the poems of Tyrtaios, thinking in this way they will be especially willing to die for their fatherland" matches Philochoros' claim (see 580 T 17) that they made it their custom on campaign to sing the songs of Tyrtaios at dinner and to award a prize of meat to whoever was deemed the winner of this competition. For a detailed discussion of Lykourgos' claim that the Spartans were summoned to the king's tent while on campaign to listen to Tyrtaios' poetry see 580 T 9a.

That the Athenian Lykourgos here uses the Spartans as exhorted by Tyrtaios as an exemplum of courage comparable to the Athenians who fought at Marathon is not as surprising as first impressions might give, because Lykourgos was a noted Laconophile (N.R.E. Fisher, 'Lykourgos of Athens: Lakonian by Name, Lakoniser by Policy?', in P. Cartledge, N. Birgillias, K. Buraselis (eds), *The Contribution of Ancient Sparta to Political Thought and Practice* (Athens 2007), 327-41). The more significant matter from our point of view is that Lykourgos cites Tyrtaios not as Spartan, but as an Athenian poet. For while it is often argued that the idea that Tyrtaios was an Athenian came into being as an insult to the Spartans, the fact that the pro-Spartan Lykourgos repeats it here is food for thought.

The Tyrtaios fragment itself is of considerable historical significance.

The opening line: "For it is a beautiful thing for a good man to die having fallen in the front ranks fighting for his fatherland" was the inspiration for modern studies of what has been

termed the Spartan “beautiful death” (*kalos thanatos*) or “la belle morte”, whereby death in battle at Sparta is seen not only as something not to be feared but also as a desirable end in itself (N. Loraux, trans. C. Levine, ‘The Spartans’ “Beautiful Death”, in N. Loraux (ed.), *The Experiences of Tiresias: the Feminine and the Greek Man* (Princeton 1995), 63, even sees the beautiful death as “a categorical imperative that must not be violated”). This image of Spartan desire for a good death in battle has even impacted on the popular image of Sparta in the film *300* (M. Silveira Cyrino, ‘“This is Sparta!”: The Reinvention of Epic in Zack Snyder’s *300*’, in R. Burgoyne (ed.), *The Epic in World Culture* (New York 2011), 32).

In contrast to a good death in battle, Tyrtaios presents exile as the consequence of cowardice in battle. Tyrtaios’ description of the shame of “a beggar having abandoned his city and rich fields” is surely meant to remind the audience of the shameful decision that Leokrates has made to flee to Megara and sell his ancestral home, bringing with him even his ancestral “sacred images”.

This image of Spartan cowards as “refugees” (H. van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London 2004), 149-50) stands in strong contrast to the later alleged Spartan practice of punishing so-called “tremblers” by forcing them to shave off half their beards, wear a patchwork cloak, and even denying them the right to smile (Xenophon, *LC* 9.4-6; Plut. *Agesilaos* 30). Ducat has recently argued these punishments were by no means frequent occurrences, if ever (J. Ducat, ‘The Spartan “Tremblers”’, in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds), *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), 1-56), and it is worth bearing in mind that two of the most notable ‘cowards’ in Spartan history – Aristokles and Hipponoidas – who refused to follow orders at the Battle of Mantinea in 418 BC were punished with exile (Thucydides 5.72).

Tyrtaios urges the young men to fight standing close together (“Fight, young men, staying close by each other”). This wording is not incompatible with hoplite warfare, but for a full discussion of this see 580 F 11.

Tyrtaios makes it clear that disgrace mars a beautiful body, and that it is shameful when an old man dies in battle because the young have failed in their task. Cartledge sees this as the near universal notion that the body should look good after death (P. Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (London 1987), 334, while Humphreys notes that old age is usually seen as decay and a horrible fate (S.C. Humphreys, *The Family, Women and Death: Comparative Studies*² (Ann Arbor 1993), 149).

Tyrtaios’ lines “For this brings shame, when an older man falls amongst the front ranks in front of the young men, already having a white head and grizzled beard, exhaling his brave spirit in the dust, clutching his bloody genitals in his clinging hands - these things are shameful to the eyes and unseemly to see, his flesh being naked; for the young everything is seemly” are clearly closely related to Homer, *Iliad* 22.71-6 where Priam says, “For a young man it is wholly fitting, when he is slain in battle, to lie mangled by the sharp bronze; dead though he is, all is fair that can be seen. But when dogs work shame on the grey head and grey beard and on the nakedness of a slain old man, that is the most piteous thing that falls to wretched mortals”.

If Tyrtaios were responding to Homer, e.g. as argued by Fuqua who sees this as an adroit adaptation of Homer by Tyrtaios (C. Fuqua, ‘Tyrtaeus and the Cult of Heroes’, *GRBS* 22 (1981), 220), this would make Tyrtaios highly derivative. But others (such as G.I.C.

Robertson, ‘The *Andreia* of Xenocles: *kouros*, *kallos* and *kleos*’ in R.M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds), *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden 2003), 68-9, B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origins of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge 1991), 247, and N.J. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume VI: Books 21-24* (Cambridge 1993), 113) have argued that Tyrtaios and Homer were both using a traditional motif which they had adapted to suit their own purposes. For more on the relative dating of Homer and Tyrtaios see L. Lulli, ‘Elegy and Epic: A Complex Relationship’, in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 201, and C. Carey, ‘Epic, Diffusion and Identity’, in S. Eliot, A. Nash and I. Willison (eds.) *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London 2007), 133-45. See also P. Pucci, ‘Il testo di Tirteo nel tessuto omerico’, in F. Roscilla (ed.), *L'autore e l'opera: attribuzioni, appropriazioni, apocrifi nella Grecia antica. Atti del convegno internazionale (Pavia, 27-28 maggio 2005). Memorie e atti di convegni 34* (Pisa 2006), 21-41.

The image of the older man “clutching his bloody genitals” is designed to show the younger men the consequences of their own failure in battle. The brutal reality of hoplite warfare is that belly and groin wounds were common (A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armor of the Greeks* (Baltimore 1999), 56; V.D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1989), 212), which must have been one of a hoplite’s greatest fears. There is strong evidence that soldiers of all eras have a strong fear of injury to the genitalia (S. James, ‘The Point of the Sword: What Roman-Era Weapons Could Do to Bodies – and Why They Often Didn’t’, in A.W. Busch and J-H. Schalles (eds.), *Waffen in Aktion: Akten des 16 Internationalen Roman Military Equipment Conference* (Mainz 2010), 48). To illustrate this James provides a very modern example from when a former soldier acquaintance was injured stepping on a land mine. One of the first things his fellow combatants did was “check, and to reassure him, that his genitals were uninjured”). But the passage need not be interpreted as referring to a dying man. Some modern scholars see this as a sign of mutilation of corpses. Tritle sees this not as an ordinary wound but an “act of brutality” or “humiliation” perpetrated by the killer, arguing that “the picture is a macabre joke and not one of a wounded man: combat veterans will recognise that Tyrtaeus clearly describes a dead man, as a wounded man will instinctively hug the ground with his belly” (L.A. Tritle, ‘Men at War’, in B.C. Campbell and L.A. Tritle (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World* (Oxford 2013), 288; see also L.A. Tritle, *From Melos to My Lai* (London 2000), 40; Krentz, ‘War’, 173-4; van Wees, *Greek Warfare*, 135-7). Either way there is no reason to follow Edmonds’ suggestion to emend the Greek here to read “entrails” rather than “genitals” (J.M. Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus I* (Cambridge MA 1931), 71 n3).

Tyrtaios ends by urging the young men to “stand fast” (εὖ διαβὰς, words which are echoed in F 11, and F 12, as well as Apollonios, *Argonautika* 1.1199, 3.1294, and perhaps originate in Homer, *Iliad* 12.458), and biting their lips with their teeth, which occurs earlier in F 11. This surely confirms that the Spartans Tyrtaios is addressing are not beyond fear. Perhaps they need to bite their lips to preventing them from shouting aloud?

580 F 11 Stob. 4.9.16	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="11"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Genre: National history; Military history; Everyday Culture: death Historical Work: unknown Source date: 5th century AD	Translation

Historian's date: 7th century BC
Historical period: Mythical past/7th century BC

ἀλλ', Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτου γένος ἐστέ, /
θαρσεῖτ'· οὐπω Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει· /
μηδ' ἀνδρῶν πληθὺν δειμαίνετε, μηδὲ
φοβεῖσθε, / ἰθὺς δ' ἐς προμάχους ἀσπίδ'
ἀνὴρ ἐχέτω, / ἐχθρὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θέμενος,
θανάτου δὲ μελαίνας / κῆρας <ὁμῶς>
αὐγαῖς ἡελίοιο φίλας. / ἴστε γὰρ ὥς Ἄρεος
πολυδακρύου ἔργ' αἰδήλα, / εὖ δ' ὀργὴν
ἐδάητ' ἀργαλέου πολέμου, / καὶ μετὰ
φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγέ<νε>σθε / ὧ
νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἐς κόρον ἡλάσατε. / οἱ
μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες /
ἐς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι, /
παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σασοῦσι δὲ λαὸν
ὀπίσσω· τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ'
ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετῇ. / οὐδεὶς ἄν ποτε ταῦτα
λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα, / ὅσσ', ἦν αἰσχυρὰ
μάθη, γίνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά· / ἀργαλέον γὰρ
ὀπισθε μετάφρενόν ἐστι δαΐζειν / ἀνδρὸς
φεύγοντος δηΐωι ἐν πολέμωι· αἰσχυρὸς δ'
ἐστὶ νέκυς κατακείμενος ἐν κονίησι /
νῶτον ὀπισθ' αἰχμῇ δουρὸς ἐληλάμενος. /
ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβάς μενέτω ποσὶν
ἀμφοτέροισι / στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος
ὁδοῦσι δακῶν, / μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω
καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους / ἀσπίδος εὐρείης
γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος· δεξιτερῇ δ' ἐν χειρὶ
τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος, / κινεῖτω δὲ
λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς· / ἔρδων δ'
ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζειν, / μηδ'
ἐκτὸς βελέων ἐστάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων, / ἀλλὰ
τις ἐγγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι / ἢ
ξίφει οὐτάζων δῆϊον ἄνδρ' ἐλέτω, / καὶ
πόδα παρ ποδὶ θείσιν καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ'
ἐρείσας, / ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφωι καὶ κυνέη
κυνέη / καὶ στέρνων στέρνωι πεπλημένος
ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω, / ἢ ξίφεος κώπην ἢ δόρυ
μακρὸν ἔχων. / ὑμεῖς δ', ὧ γυμνῆτες, ὑπ'
ἀσπίδος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος / πτώσσοντες
μεγάλους βάλλετε χερμαδίοις / δούρασί τε
ξεστοῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐς αὐτούς, / τοῖσι
πανόπλοισιν πλησίον ἰστάμενοι.

Come, take courage, for your line is from
unconquered Herakles; Zeus does not yet
hold his neck aslant; do not dread nor fear a
horde of men, so let each man hold his
shield straight in the front ranks, regarding
life hated, and having embraced the black
goddesses of death dear like the rays of the
sun. For you know that the works of much-
lamented Ares are destructive, and you have
learned well the rage of painful war, and
you have been with those fleeing and those
pursuing O young men, and you have been
pushed to the limit by both. For those who
dare to remain alongside one another and to
advance fighting hand-to-hand in the front
ranks, they die in smaller numbers and
safeguard the men at the rear but when men
are terrified, all honour is lost. For no one
could possibly accomplish describing each
and every evil which befalls a man, if he
becomes accustomed to disgrace; for it is
terrible to cleave a man asunder from behind
in the broad of the back as he flees during
destructive combat and a corpse lying in the
dust is shameful pierced in the back by a
spear point from behind. Come, one should
plant oneself firmly fixing both feet on the
ground, biting his lip with his teeth,
covering thighs, shins below, chest and
shoulders with the broad belly of his shield;
and let him brandish a mighty spear in his
right hand, and shake the fearsome crest
over his head; by doing mighty deeds let
him learn to make war, and make him not
stand holding his shield beyond the missiles,
but coming with a long spear or sword
wounding the enemy take the man, and
placing foot alongside foot and having
pressed shield against shield, crest on crest
and helmet to helmet and chest to chest
having drawn near, let him fight a man,
holding sword blade or long spear. And you,
light-armed men, crouching beneath a shield
in one place or another throw large stones,
hurling smooth spears at them, standing
close to those in heavy armour.

580 F 11 Critical apparatus

εἰς codd., ἐς corr. Camerarius

ἐχθρὰν codd., ἐχθρὴν corr. Bergk

ὁμῶς suppl. Grotius

αὐγῆς Thiersch

ὥς Ἀρέως codd.; οἷ' Ἄρεος Stadtmüller; ὥς Ἄρεος West

ἐγένεσθε Gentili-Prato; ἐγέ<νε>σθε West

σάουσι codd., σαοῦσι corr. Buttmann

ἄν codd., ἦν corr. Valckenaer

ἀρπαλέον Ahrens

πεπαλημένος codd., πεπλημένος corr. Brunck

έλων codd.; ἔχων West

πανοπλίοισι(ν) codd., πανόπλοισιν corr. Dindorf

580 F 11 Commentary

Although Stobaios does not explicitly state that this elegaic poem was written by Tyrtaios the similarity to F 10 makes the identification of Tyrtaios as the author unquestionable. Tyrtaios here urges the young men into battle in what is either one long poem, or two separate works.

This elegy is one that has impacted on scholars ancient and modern alike. Plato cited the line “planting themselves firmly” explicitly (580 F 11a), and Plutarch appears to have known it (580 F 11b), although the lines urging the young men to “stand fast” (words which are echoed in F 10, and F 12) also appear in Apollonios (*Argonautika* 1.1199, 3.1294), and perhaps originate in Homer (*Iliad* 12.458), and the lines “placing foot alongside foot and having pressed shield against shield, crest on crest and helmet to helmet and chest to chest having drawn near, let him fight a man, holding sword blade or long spear” have become synonymous with hoplite warfare in modern scholarship, with the modern historian Yellin even imagining the Spartan commanders at the Battle of Mantinea in 418 BC reciting the lines of this poem to encourage their men (K. Yellin, *Battle Exhortation: the Rhetoric of Combat Leadership* (Columbia SC 2008), 29).

Several aspects of this fragment warrant further discussion:

1. Tyrtaios begins by urging them to take courage because they are from the unconquered race of Herakles, and because Zeus “does not yet held his neck aslant”. Exactly what this means is

not entirely clear. It could mean that Zeus has not yet turned his back on the Spartans and that there is no need for despair (D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), 57 n2), but it has also been understood to mean that Zeus is not afraid (R.D. Luginbill, 'Tyrtaeus 12 West: Come Join the Spartan Army', *CQ* 52 (2002), 410).

2. Tyrtaios urges the Spartan young men to despise life and reminds them that all arete is lost in flight, sentiments surely behind Plutarch's apophthegm that Tyrtaios was a good poet to slaughter the lives of young men (see 580 T 14a-c), and the so-called *belle morte* advocated in F 10.

3. Tyrtaios notes that the Spartans have won and lost before. This shows that his audience is by no means invincible, and matches the later evidence for the period which suggests that the Spartans suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the Messenians.

4. West's edition has Tyrtaios saying here that killing the enemy is ἀργαλέον i.e. "terrible" or "gruesome". But Ahrens advocated emending the text to read ἀρπαλέον which would have killing the enemy as "thrilling" or "pleasant". There does not seem to be any real need for the change. After all, Tyrtaios may be merely meaning that it is terrible to have to kill someone by stabbing them in the back (Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry*, 57 n5). But this emendment has been followed by some modern commentators, such as L.P. Rawlings, *The Ancient Greeks at War* (Manchester 2007), 97-8.

5. Whether Tyrtaios is describing hoplite tactics has been the subject of considerable debate.

Tyrtaios urges every Spartans to "hold his shield straight in the front ranks", to "plant oneself firmly fixing both feet on the ground, biting his lips with his teeth, covering thighs, shins below, chest and shoulders with the broad belly of his shield; and let him brandish a mighty spear in his right hand, and shake the fearsome crest over his head", and imagines them all "placing foot alongside foot and having pressed shield against shield, crest on crest and helmet to helmet and chest to chest having drawn near, let him fight a man, holding sword blade or long spear".

This vivid warfare imagery has in the past been cited as proof that the hoplite phalanx did exist in Tyrtaios' time (e.g. P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare. Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages* (Cambridge 1973), 94 has argued that F 11 is evidence of how a phalanx actually works, while V.D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1989), 42, once saw Tyrtaios as a "witness" to hoplite reform, and T.A. Tarkow, 'Tyrtaeus 9 D: The Role of Poetry in the New Sparta', *L'Antiquité Classique* 52 (1983), 54, sees Tyrtaios' poetry as providing "incontrovertible evidence for the steadily increasing role and status of the hoplite phalanx"). There are indeed some aspects of Tyrtaios' description of warfare that match hoplite warfare. The Spartans fight "chest to chest", they fight with spears, and are called "spearmen" (cf. Aeschylus, *Persians* where Cartledge notes that "spearman" is synonymous for hoplite (P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300 to 362 BC*² (London 2002), 161), they do not throw their spears, and at F 12 they are said to be fighting against "bristling phalanxes of hostile men".

But many modern scholars have argued that Tyrtaios is not describing hoplite warfare (e.g. G.G. Fagan and M. Trundle, 'Introduction', in G.G. Fagan, and M. Trundle (eds.), *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (Leiden 2010), 9, compare Tyrtaios to Homer with "mass

bands of troops” but the real focus is on heroes like Achilles, Diomedes, Ajax or Hektor), and there are many lines of Tyrtaios’ poetry which do not necessarily accord with hoplite warfare.

First, modern scholars have often highlighted the lines “covering thighs, shins below, chest and shoulders with the broad belly of his shield” as incompatible with hoplite warfare. Wilamowitz saw this shield as like that of Ajax, fighting like that of Myrmidons at *Iliad* 16.215, and argued that the lines that accorded with hoplite warfare were later additions to poetry which described pre-hoplite tactics (U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, ‘Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker’, *AGG* 42 (1900), 114). Jaeger counters that Tyrtaios has adapted the scene to describe “hand-to-hand combat of men against men” (W. Jaeger, ‘Tyrtaeus on True Aretē’, in *Five Essays* (Montreal 1966), 111). Lorimer like Wilamowitz focuses on this shield and the shield with the omphalos in F12 and argues that these cannot be typical hoplite shields. Lorimer argues that the shoulder-to-ankle shield is only attested in the Bronze Age and therefore cannot be contemporary, an argument partly on the fact that there are no Orthia lead hoplites figurines with such shields (H.L. Lorimer, ‘The Hoplite Phalanx with Special Reference to the Poems of Archilochus and Tyrtaeus’, *ABSA* 42 (1947), 122). Snodgrass disagrees, arguing that “there is scarcely any degree of poetic exaggeration when we recall an actual specimen of 1.2m in diameter has occurred”, and that there are no other grounds for suspecting a later pastiche. Nonetheless Snodgrass does agree that the bossed shield is “discordant” (A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh 1964), 181).

Secondly, other modern scholars see the “phalanx” described by Tyrtaios as too loose for a proper hoplite phalanx. Some focus on the fact that Tyrtaios gives no hint of depth (E.L. Wheeler and B. Strauss, ‘Battle’, in P. Sabin, H. van Wees and M. Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare Volume 1: Greece, The Hellenistic World and the Rise of Rome* (Cambridge 2007), 197); others that Tyrtaios appears to imply that men can fight close at the front or choose to hang back (J.K. Anderson, ‘Hoplite Weapons and Offensive Arms’, in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London 1993), 15; H. van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London 2004), 173; Snodgrass (*Early Greek Armour*, 182) sees Tyrtaios’ combatants as having a choice, and asks what sort of phalanx this really is; men at the front protect those at the back and encourage them. While I would not want to suggest that Tyrtaios is actually describing a typical Classical phalanx I would suggest that Tyrtaios says here not that young men can choose where to fight, but that they actually do not have a choice, but must fight bravely at the front. That shirking one’s duty was at least hypothetically possible in hoplite warfare in the Classical period is made clear in Theophrastos’ satirical character sketch of the coward, who “when he hears a tumult and sees men falling, he says to those beside him that in his haste he forgot his sword and runs to his tent ... and when he sees one of his friends brought in wounded, he runs up to him, bids him be brave, picks him up and carries him and ... drenched in blood from another’s man wound, he meets men returning from battle and tells the story as if he had been in danger” (Theophrastos, *Characters* 25).

Thirdly, where Tyrtaios seems furthest from describing typical hoplite warfare are the final lines “And you, light-armed men, crouching beneath a shield one place or another throw large stones hurling smooth spears at them, standing close to those in heavy armour”.

Modern scholars rightly focus on the appearance of light-armed men – *gymnetes* – in the phalanx. This is obviously an indication of different armaments which does not match how we imagine the Classical phalanx (N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 147-8, observes that Tyrtaios is probably describing a phalanx, but it is one that includes

gymnetes, while E.L. Wheeler, ‘The Hoplite as General’, in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London 1993), 130, focuses on the lack of unified armament), but there is potentially an added social dimension here. Thus Storch sees wealthier hoplites fighting in the front ranks of the phalanx, with the poorer, less well-armed men at the back of the formation (R.H. Storch, ‘The Archaic Greek Phalanx, 750-650 B.C.’, *AHB* 12 (1998), 1-7). Similarly, Rose sees this as a phalanx, but “awkwardly mixed”, and ponders whether the light-armed are “peasants” or “small holders”, and links this to F 1 where Tyrtaios talks of civil strife (P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012, 282). See also Hodkinson who focuses on the marked difference between the two groups (S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 222), and Cartledge who argues that the practice of fighting with light-armed men alongside hoplites was something that the Spartans later abandoned out of “snobbery” (P. Cartledge, *Agessilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (London 1987), 45-6).

These much-debated lines about the light-armed men are often seen as an interpolation, which itself may have been altered later. (J.M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* 1 (Harvard 1931), 75 n1) suggests that “the last sentence has the air of addition, which itself, to judge by the slightly confused syntax, may have once ended at ‘hurlstones’.”).

The appearance of the stone-throwers and the javelin-throwers is significant in its own right. A stone-thrower depicted on a pithos from sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta: excavated and described by members of the British school at Athens, 1906-1910* (London 1929), pl. XV, XVI). Ogden links the javelins here with the later tale that the Messenian rebel Aristomenes was wounded in the buttock by a Spartan javelin (D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene: Legends of Sparta's Nemesis* (Swansea 2004), 126). Krentz notes that the appearance of rock-throwers belies the notion that there was an ancient prohibition on missiles (P. Krentz, ‘Fighting by the Rules: the Invention of the Hoplite *agōn*’, *Hesperia* 71 (2002), 29).

In years past differing interpretations of the style of warfare described in Tyrtaios’ lines had considerable impact on both the dating of the emergence of hoplite warfare and the dating of Tyrtaios, depending on whether scholars believed that Tyrtaios’ evidence did, or did not, accord with the archaeological record for hoplite warfare, particularly when scholars debated when the so-called “hoplite revolution” took place (see e.g. Lorimer, ‘The Hoplite Phalanx’, *passim*, Snodgrass, *Early Greek Arms and Armour*, 181, Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, 94), but now scholars are more content to see the development of hoplite tactics as more evolutionary than revolutionary. Tyrtaios is thus regarded as describing a time when the Spartans were developing their fighting technique into something that would one day become a true hoplite phalanx, rather than evidence for or against the existence of that phalanx. Thus Snodgrass came to see Tyrtaios as writing propaganda for a phalanx but one not yet fully developed (*Arms and Armor*, 66-7), sentiments which are echoed by scholars such as Anderson (‘Hoplite Weapons’, 15), who sees Tyrtaios’ phalanx as “not fully developed”; Singor, who sees this as evidence that the hoplite phalanx is “emerging” (H. Singor, ‘War and International Relations’, in K.A. Raaflaub and H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 591); and Rawlings who sees Tyrtaios as describing a type of hoplite warfare where there are still *gymnetes* present as in Homer (L.P. Rawlings, *The Ancient Greeks at War* (Manchester 2007), 55).

Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>τοῦτον δὴ φαμεν ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ ἀμείνονα ἐκείνου πάμπολυ γίγνεσθαι, σχεδὸν ὅσον ἀμείνων δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ φρόνησις εἰς ταῦτον ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' ἀνδρείας, αὐτῆς μόνης ἀνδρείας. πιστὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑγῆς ἐν στάσεσιν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ἄνευ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς· διαβάντες δ' εὖ καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν ᾧ πολέμῳ φράζει Τύρταιος τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰσὶν πάμπολλοι, ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι γίνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ἐκτὸς δὴ τινῶν εὖ μάλα ὀλίγων.</p>	<p>We say in a more difficult war such a man as this is very much better than that one, almost as much better than justice, prudence, and wisdom coming together with courage in the same man is better than courage itself alone. For one cannot be faithful and good in civil strife without complete virtue; but in the war which Tyrtaios discusses there are numerous mercenaries "planting themselves firmly" and willing to die in war, the majority of whom become over-bold, unjust and violent, and near to the most senseless of all men, with very few exceptions.</p>

580 F 11a Commentary

The Athenian observes that a man such as that described by Theognis – a man worth his weight in gold and silver in difficult civil strife – is more valuable than the type of brave man that Tyrtaios describes.

The phrase διαβάντες δ' εὖ "planting themselves well" is presumably a reference to Tyrtaios F 11, line 21 (εὖ διαβάς), which is why West included this passage under F 11. But it should be pointed out that the wording also appears in F 10 and F 12.

Exactly why Plato interprets Tyrtaios' poetry as indicating that the soldiers are mercenaries is by no means clear.

580 F 11b PLUTARCH Moralia 788D	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="11" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: 50-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>ὅθεν αἱ πόλεις, ὅταν παίσωσιν ἢ φοβηθῶσι, πρεσβυτέρων ποθοῦσιν ἀρχὴν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ πολλάκις ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατάγουσαι γέροντα μὴ δεόμενον μηδὲ βουλούμενον ἠνάγκασαν ὥσπερ οἰάκων ἐφαψάμενον εἰς ἀσφαλὲς καταστήσαι τὰ πράγματα, παρωσάμεναί τε στρατηγούς καὶ δημαγωγούς βοᾷν μέγα καὶ λέγειν ἀπνευστὶ</p>	<p>For that reason states, when they make a blunder or are in fear, yearn for the rule of elder men; and often they have brought an older man from the field, one who did not request or want it, and compelled him as it were to lay hands on the tiller and to steer affairs to safety, pushing aside both generals and demagogues who shout loudly</p>

καὶ νῆ Δία τοῖς πολεμίοις διαβάντας εὖ μάχεσθαι δυναμένους·	and speak without pausing for breath, and, by Zeus, men able to fight against the enemy planting themselves firmly.
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580 F 11b Commentary

Although not explicitly linked to Tyrtaios, the wording is διαβάντας εὖ is too similar not only to Tyrtaios' wording τις εὖ διαβάς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι, but also to Plato's διαβάντες δ' εὖ, to be merely coincidence.

It is ironic that Plutarch here seems to use a line from Tyrtaios to illustrate how states use men not necessarily appropriate to lead them in battle when they are afraid without seeming to notice that he is quoting the allegedly blind, disabled, insane poet Tyrtaios. For more on Tyrtaios' allegedly impairments see 580 T 1a.

Plutarch cites Tyrtaios by name only in the life of Lykourgos (see 580 F 4) and only then via Aristotle. Plutarch's quotation of Tyrtaios there is so dependent upon Aristotle than some modern scholars effectively take this as a fragment of Aristotle rather than Plutarch (see 580 F 4b), which begs the question as to whether Plutarch had actually read much if any of Tyrtaios' poetry.

580 F 12 Stob. 4.10.1	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="12"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history; Everyday Culture: death Historical Work: unknown Source date: 5th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείην / οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης, / οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθος τε βίην τε, / νικῶντι δὲ θεῶν Θρηῦκιον Βορέην, / οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φυῆν χαριέστερος εἴη, / πλουτοίῃ δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον, / οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη, / γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μελιχόγηρυν ἔχοι, / οὐδ' εἰ παῖσαν ἔχοι δόξαν πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς· / οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ / εἰ μὴ τετλαίῃ μὲν ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα, / καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ιστάμενος, / ἦδ' ἀρετῇ, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον / κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ. / ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόλῃ τε παντὶ τε δήμῳ, / ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβάς ἐν προμάχοισι μένηι / νωλεμέως, αἰσχροῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεται, / ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος, / θαρσύνῃ δ'	I would not call to mind or take account of a man not for his running prowess and not for the wrestler's art, and not even if he had the size and bodily strength of the Cyclopes, and if he could defeat Thracian Boreas in running, and not if he was more handsome in form than Tithonos, or richer than Midas or Kinyras, not even if he were more kingly than Pelops, son of Tantalos, or if he had a tongue as smooth as Adrastus', and not if he had a reputation for everything except impetuous courage; For no man is good in war if he cannot endure seeing bloody slaughter, and standing hard by reach the enemy. This is excellence, this is the best prize for men, and the fairest for a young man to win. And this is a common benefit for the city and all the people, whenever a man remains standing firm in the front ranks unceasingly, and wholly unmindful of

ἔπεσιν τὸν πλησίον ἄνδρα παρεστώς· /
οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ. /
αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε
φάλαγγας / τρηχείας· σπουδῇ δ' ἔσχεθε
κῦμα μάχης, / αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι
πεσῶν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν, / ἅστυ τε καὶ
λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας, / πολλὰ διὰ
στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης / καὶ
διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλάμενος. / τὸν δ'
ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ γέροντες, /
ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις, /
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις
ἀρίσθημοι / καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος
ἐξοπίσω· / οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν
ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, / ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος, / ὄντιν'
ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε /
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ. /
εἰ δὲ φύγη μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
/ νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἔλῃ, /
πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν, ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ παλαιοί,
/ πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς
Ἀΐδην, / γηράσκων δ' ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει,
οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν / βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε
δίκης ἐθέλει, / πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς
νέοι οἱ τε κατ' αὐτὸν / εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἱ
τε παλαιότεροι. / ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ
ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι / πειράσθω θυμῷ
μὴ μεθείς πολέμου.

shameful flight, and displaying a stout-
hearted spirit and heart, he stands closeby
and encourages the man next to him; This
man is good in war. And he routs quickly
the bristling phalanxes of hostile men; and
with zeal he checks the tide of battle, and
falling in the front ranks he loses his own
dear life, bringing honour to the city and
people and father, struck many times
through chest and bossed shield and
breastplate from the front. And young and
old men alike mourn him, and the whole
city is distressed by the painful longing, and
his tomb and children are notable among the
people and the children of his children and
his line hereafter; and not ever do his good
fame and name perish, but even though he is
underground he becomes immortal, whoever
while displaying excellence stands fast
doing battle for land and children furious
Ares slays. And if he escapes the doom of
death that brings long sorrow and having
conquered with spearpoint he grasps the
splendid object of his prayers, he is
honoured by all, young and old alike,
experiencing much delight before he goes to
Hades, and as he grows old he stands out
amongst the townsmen, and no one seeks to
deprive him of his standing or honour, and
all men on the benches, the young, those of
his age, and the older men yield their place
to him. Now let each man strive to come to
this height of excellence, never slacking in
his heart in battle.

580 F 12 Critical apparatus

τιθείμην Plato; τιθείην Stobaeus

κινυρέοιο μάλλον codd., Κινύρεω μάλιον corr. G.M. Schmidt; μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα
μάλλον Plato, Iamblichus

ὁρᾶν Plato 629e; ὁρῶν Stobaeus

αἰσχυρᾶς SM (αἰσχυρὸς A), αἰσχυρῆς corr. Bergk

πόλεμον codd., πολέμου corr. Camerarius

580 F 12 Commentary

This fragment was once doubted as an authentic piece of work by Tyrtaios. Wilamowitz felt it lacked the necessary archaicisms required by a work from the seventh century (U.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker', *AGG* 42 (1900), 9).

Similarly Fränkel saw it as "too modern" a work (H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Oxford 1973), 339, cited by R.D. Luginbill, 'Tyrtaeus 12 West: Come Join the Spartan Army', *CQ* 52 (2002), 406). Lorimer saw the reference to the shield with the omphalos as incompatible with hoplite warfare (H.L. Lorimer, 'The Hoplite Phalanx With Special Reference to the Poems of Archilochus and Tyrtaeus', *ABSA* 42 (1947), 122; cf. A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh 1964), 181, who disagrees despite seeing it as "discordant"). But more recently this fragment has become not only accepted as genuinely Tyrtaian (based on the high proportion of overlap with other Tyrtaios fragments (W. Jaeger, 'Tyrtaeus on True Aretē', in *Five Essays* (Montreal 1966), 103-42 = 'Tyrtaios über die wahre ἀρετή', *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist.Kl.* 23 (1933), 537-68), but also perceived as one of the most important fragments of Tyrtaios' poetry. Thus Jaeger sees F 12 as a radical assault on aristocratic ideology, Tarkow calls it "a landmark in Greek cultural history" (T.A. Tarkow, 'Tyrtaeus 9 D: The Role of Poetry in the New Sparta', *L'Antiquité Classique* 52 (1983), 48), Shey sees F 12 as "a masterly piece of special pleading" (H. J. Shey, 'Tyrtaeus and the Art of Propaganda', *Arethusa* 9 (1976), 5), and Horace's famous line *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (3.2) has been seen as a direct response to Tyrtaios' words (L.I. Lindo, 'Tyrtaeus and Horace *Odes* 3.2', *Classical Philology* 66 (1971), 258-60).

Tyrtaios begins with a *paraleipsis* ("I would not call to mind or take account of a man not for his running prowess...") in order to demonstrate that he would not value athletic prowess over bravery in combat. Tarkow ('Tyrtaeus', 68) sees Tyrtaios the *paidagogos* teaching his audience here. To illustrate his point Tyrtaios mentions a string of mythical figures whose excellence would be irrelevant if not coupled with "impetuous courage". These figures are worthy of further discussion:

1. "not if he had the size and bodily strength of the Cyclopes" – although there are a variety of Cyclopes mentioned in myth, perhaps most famously the man-eating giants of Homer's *Odyssey* (9.105-564), the Cyclopes used as a comparison here are presumably the three sons of Ouranos and Gaia – Brontes, Steropes and Arges (or Pyragmon) – who were locked up in Tartaros but freed by Zeus to whom they gave lightning and thunder in gratitude (Hesiod, *Theogony* 139-46, 501-5). Hesiod says of them, "strength and might and craft were in their works".

2. "if he could beat Thracian Boreas running" – the North Wind (strictly the North-easterly wind) was known to Pindar (*Pythian* 4.181) as the "king of winds", and was often associated with the Etesian winds (Aristotle, *Meteorologia* 362a11). Hesiod observes of Boreas in winter months, "he blows across horse-breeding Thrace upon the wide sea and stirs it up, while earth and forest howl". Boreas' wind fells trees, cuts through the fur of the shaggiest of animals, even an ox's hide, but not the fleece of sheep (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 553). Shey ('Tyrtaeus', 6) argues that by asking his audience to imagine a faster runner than Boreas he is asking them "to contemplate the unimaginable".

3. "not if he was more handsome in form than Tithonos" – Tithonos was a Trojan prince, the handsome brother of Priam (Homer, *Iliad* 20.241), whom the goddess Eos made her lover

(*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218-234; Hesiod, *Theogony* 984-5; Homer, *Iliad* 11.1-2, *Odyssey* 5.1-2 has Eos rising from her bed beside “lordly Tithonos” each day).

4. “richer than Midas or Kinyras” - for the Phrygian king Midas’ proverbial wealth caused by the fact that everything he touched turned to gold see also Plato, *Republic* 408B; Cicero, *de div* 3.36; Aelian, *VH* 12.45; Aristophanes, *Wealth* 286-7. Kinyras the king of Cyprus gave a splendid suit of armour to Agamemnon (Homer, *Iliad* 11.19-23), and his wealth is noted not only by Tyrtaios but also by Pindar (*Pythian* 2.15). Kinyras was often identified as the father of Adonis (Apollodoros 3.14.3).

5. “more kingly than Pelops, son of Tantalos” – Pelops won the hand of Hippodamia the princess of Pisa in Elis by defeating her father Oinomaos in a chariot race, either by subterfuge or because he had Poseidon’s chariot and horses, and over time extended his authority so that the whole of the Peloponnese (Pelops’ island) came under his authority (Thucydides 1.9).

6. “if he had a tongue as smooth as Adrastos” – Adrastos was the only survivor of the mythical Seven. Plato (*Phaidros* 269a) has Socrates speak of “melliflous Adrastos.”

Having outlined what are actually in some ways negative role models (Shey, ‘Tyrtaeus’, 9-12), Tyrtaios goes on to explain what is really worth prizing: “no man is good in war if he cannot endure seeing bloody slaughter, and standing hard by reach the enemy. This is excellence, this is the best prize for men, the fairest for a young man to win”.

For Tyrtaios real virtue (*aretē*) is martial courage, a sentiment echoed by Euripides, *Autolykus* (frag. 282N): “there are thousands of evils throughout Greece, but the worst is the race of athletes ... What good wrestler, what swift-footed man has helped his city by winning a wreath or hoisting a discus or smartly striking someone’s jaw? Will they fight with the enemy with discus in hand or ... strike shields with their hands?”.

Martial courage for Tyrtaios means enduring “bloody slaughter” (see V.D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1989), 191 on how bloody hoplite warfare could be), and “standing firm” in the front ranks against the “bristling phalanxes” of the enemy (see F 10 and F 11 for the further exhortations to stand firm). A real man will not turn his back on the enemy, but will be “struck many times through the chest” (see Hanson, *Western Way of War*, 163, on thrusts to the chest in hoplite warfare). If a man dies fighting for the state he will receive a public tomb.

Here Tyrtaios links death with glory, whereas in other fragments it means avoiding shame (Luginbill, ‘Spartan Army’, 413). Many modern scholars see Tyrtaios as advocating a new state-oriented approach here. Jaeger (‘Tyrtaeus’) sees F 12 as a radical assault on aristocratic ideology, Fuqua (‘Tyrtaeus’, 219) sees the state ensuring the hero’s *kleos*; Hodkinson sees the polis taking a conscious decision to manipulate funeral rites (S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 238); van Wees focuses on the conspicuous burial mound (H. van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London 2004), 145). Luginbill sees a change in focus from group to individual, and sees Tyrtaios as promising a road to immortality (in response to an immediate manpower shortage). See also Ernst-Richard Schwinge, ‘Tyrtaios über seine Dichtung’ (Fr. 9 G.-P = 12 W), *Hermes* 125 (1997), 387-95, who argues that Tyrtaios is advocating that the “good man” should die in battle and be praised not in epic poetry but by being remembered by the entire *polis*, and Wheeler (‘Hoplite as

General', 123) who talks of Tyrtaios' "transvaluation of Homeric *aretē*". Lulli argues that Tyrtaios is evoking Priam's speech in *Iliad* 22.66-76, but in such a way that "completely refunctionalises" Homer's words. She argues that whereas Priam compares the fate of the young ("for a young man all is decorous when he is cut down in battle") with that of the old man ("when an old man is dead and down, and the dogs mutilate the grey head and the grey beard") in order to "justify himself, now a faint-hearted old man", Tyrtaios is explicitly urging young citizens to fall in battle (L. Lulli, 'Elegy and Epic: A Complex Relationship', in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 199-200).

But Tyrtaios does not only advocate death in battle. Surviving can also be glorious, for the brave man "is honoured by all, young and old alike, experiencing much delight before he goes to Hades, and as he grows old he stands out amongst the townsmen". All ages – "the young, those of his age and the older men" – yield their seat to the brave man according to Tyrtaios.

This line has some bearing on our understanding of later Spartan customs. For while according to Herodotos (2.80) at Sparta "there is a custom ... [whereby] younger men, encountering their elders, yield the way and stand aside, and rise from their seats for them when they approach, Xenophon (*LC* 9.5) makes it clear that such rules were not honoured when it came to the later treatment of cowards, or 'tremblers': "in the streets he [the coward] is bound to make way; when he occupies a seat he must needs give it up, even to a junior". For more on the so-called tremblers at Sparta see J. Ducat, 'The Spartan "Tremblers"', in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds), *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), *passim*.

Stobaeus' quotation of Tyrtaios here is by no means our only reference to this passage even aside from the three other fragments included here. After noting that the best maxims should be repeated, Clement of Alexandria (*Paidagogos* 3.6.34) then cites the passage, "though a man then be richer than Kinyras or Midas" (ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα πλουτῇ μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μᾶλλον), as an example amongst many of despising worldly wealth. Since this is probably a quotation of Plato, West did not include that particular passage amongst the fragments of Tyrtaios.

580 F 12a Plato Laws 629a-629b	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="12" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
προστησώμεθα γοῦν Τύρταιον, τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, τῶνδε δὲ πολίτην γενόμενον, ὃς δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν εἰπὼν ὅτι «οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην» οὔτ' εἴ τις πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων εἴη, φησὶν, οὔτ' εἰ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένος, εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ὃς μὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄριστος γίγνοιτ' ἀεί. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκήκοάς που καὶ σὺ τὰ ποιήματα· ὃδε μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι διακορῆς αὐτῶν ἐστι.	At least then let us put forward Tyrtaios, who was an Athenian by birth but became a citizen of these people, who certainly more than other men was keenly interested in these matters, saying that "I would not call to mind or take account of a man", not if he were the richest of men, he said, and not if he possessed many good things, mentioning nearly everything, who is not always best in war. For doubtless you also have heard these poems; for I think this man here (Megillos) is saturated with them.

580 F 12a Commentary

This is the second occasion where Plato has the Athenian quoting Tyrtaios' poetry to the Spartan Megillos. Plato casts Tyrtaios as Athenian (the first author to do so, for more on this see 580 T 1a and Biographical Essay), and more interested in courage than other men. This may explain partly why Chrysippos would later quote Tyrtaios so liberally in his work *On the Soul* (see 580 T 42a-c, F 13).

The Athenian goes on to say that he thinks the Cretan will have heard of Tyrtaios' poems, and that Megillos must be "saturated with them". Megillos concurs, and the Cretan adds that the poems had been brought to Crete from Sparta. However, Powell suggests that Plato's claim that the Spartans were overexposed to Tyrtaios may be overdone (A. Powell, 'Plato and Sparta: Modes of Rule and of Non-Rational Persuasion in the *Laws*', in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Shadow of Sparta* (London 1994), 302), and Hodkinson stresses that there is "no indication of their performance outside the context of military campaigns" (S. Hodkinson, 'Was Classical Sparta a Military Society?' in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.) *Sparta and War* (Swansea 2006), 117).

580 F 12b Plato Laws 629e	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="12" n-mod="b"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: 360 BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
Φέρε δὴ, ποτέρους, καὶ πρὸς πότερον ἐπαινῶν τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ὑπερεπήνεσας, τοὺς δὲ ἔψεξας τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ἔοικας μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός· εἴρηκας γοῦν ὧδε ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὥς οὐδαμῶς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνεχόμενος, οἳ μὴ τολμήσωσιν «μὲν ὁρᾶν φόνον αἱματόεντα, / καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοντ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενοι». οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴπομεν ἂν ἡμεῖς ὅτι «Σὺ μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ὥς ἔοικας, ὦ Τύρταιε, μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν ὀθνεῖόν τε καὶ ἐξῶθεν πόλεμον γιγνομένου ἐπιφανεῖς. » φαίη ταῦτ' ἂν που καὶ ὁμολογοῖ;	Come then, which of the two sorts of men, and for which kind of war were you thus praising beyond measure, and which were you blaming? For seem to mean external wars; at least then you have spoken in this way in your poems, that in no way do you endure the sort of man who dare not "look upon bloody slaughter and standing hard by might reach the enemy". Then we should say for our part that "You clearly praise, so it seems, O Tyrtaios, those distinguishing themselves in foreign and external war". He would say, "That is so", I suppose, and agree?

580 F 12b Commentary

This is the third and final time that Plato quotes Tyrtaios. Again the Athenian recites Tyrtaios to the Spartan and Cretan. Tyrtaios' words here are selected as proof that Tyrtaios has the highest regard for bravery in external wars.

After the Athenian here concludes that Tyrtaios does indeed praise men who fight in wars against foreign enemies rather than civil strife, the Cretan concurs. He then goes on to praise Theognis over Tyrtaios. For more see 580 T 5, T 8.

580 F 12c Eusebios, <i>Praep.</i> 12.21.1-3	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="12" n-mod="c"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. AD 260-340 Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>Τοὺς ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζετε λέγειν ὥς ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὢν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, ἐάν τε μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἐάν τε σμικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ἦ καὶ ἐὰν πλουτῇ καὶ μή· ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα ‘πλουτῇ μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μᾶλλον», ἦ δὲ ἄδικος, ἄθλιός τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνιαρῶς ζῇ. καὶ «οὐτ’ ἂν μνησαίμην», φησὶν ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς λέγει, «οὐτ’ ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην», ὃς μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῶτο, καὶ δὴ «καὶ δηίων» τοιοῦτος ὢν «ὀρέγοιτο ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενος»· ἄδικος δὲ ὢν μήτε τολμῶη «ὄρων φόνον αἱματόεντα» μήτε νικῶη «θέων Θρηίκιον Βορέην» μηδὲ ἄλλο αὐτῷ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν γίγνοιτό ποτε· τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται.</p>	<p>You compel poets to say that the good man who is prudent and just is both blessed and happy, whether tall and strong or small and weak, and whether wealthy or not, and though a man be “richer than Kinyras or Midas” but be unjust, he is both miserable and lives wretchedly. And your poet, if he speaks rightly says “I would not call to mind or take account of a man” who is not acting and acquiring the so-called good things with justice, and indeed being such a man as “standing hard by might reach the enemy” and being unjust if he should not dare to be “look upon bloody slaughter”, nor defeat “Thracian Boreas running” nor ever have any of the so-called good things, for the things called good by the masses are not called rightly.</p>

580 F 12c Commentary

This passage (like 580 T 50) is from Eusebios’ *Εὐαγγελικὴ προπαρασκευή*, more commonly known by its Latin title *Praeparatio evangelica*, which attempts to explain in advance objections which are likely to be raised against Christians by Greeks and Jews in order to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over these other religions and philosophies.

Book 12 of Eusebios’ work compares Plato to Hebrew scripture, and chapters 10-28 focuses on the correct foundation of law, religious training, the use of poetry, music, and wine based on Plato’s *Laws*. Chapter 21 is subtitled “What kind of thoughts the odes should contain”.

Eusebios has repeated Plato’s quotation of Tyrtaios’ lines “richer than Kinyras or Midas”, “I would not call to mind or take account of a man”, “standing hard by might reach the enemy”, and “Thracian Boreas running”.

The fact that neither Eusebios and Iamblichos (F 12e) names Tyrtaios and that the passages cited from them are virtually identical suggests that neither author has actually read Tyrtaios, and that perhaps one or the other has not even read Plato’s *Laws*. Indeed that Eusebios is

almost a word-for-word quotation of Iamblichos (F 12e) suggests that Eusebios' knowledge of Tyrtaios is not even second hand, but actually third hand.

580 F 12d IAMBLICHUS, Protrepticus 92.16	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="12" n-mod="d"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: c. AD 245-325 Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
<p>τοιούτους δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, οὔτε ἀγανακτοῦντας οὔτε φοβουμένους ἄγαν, εἰ δεῖ τελευτᾶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἢ ἄλλο τι πάσχειν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. διατεταμένως γὰρ δὴ δεῖ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν δόξαν, ὥς ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὢν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, ἐάν τε μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς, ἐάν τε μικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενής, καὶ ἐάν πλουτῇ καὶ μὴ. ἐάν δ' ἄρα πλουτῇ Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μᾶλλον, ἢ δὲ ἄδικος, ἄθλιός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀνιαρῶς ζῇ· καὶ οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην, φησὶν ὁ ποιητής, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς λέγει, οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθοίμην, ὃς μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῶτο, καὶ δηίων τοιοῦτος ὢν ὀρέγοιτο ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενος, ἄδικος δὲ ὢν μήτε τολμῶ ὀρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα μήτε νικῶ θεῶν Θρηίκιον Βορέην, μηδὲ ἄλλο αὐτῷ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν γίγνοιτό ποτε. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται.</p>	<p>We for our part esteem and consider valiant such men who are neither angered nor over fearful of whether they should die or suffer some other human fate. For having maintained this earnestly it is indeed necessary to have this expectation, that the good man, being prudent and just, is blessed and happy, whether tall and strong or small and weak, and whether wealthy or not, and though a man be "richer than Kinyras or Midas" but if he be unjust, he is both miserable and lives wretchedly. And your poet, if he speaks rightly says "I would not call to mind or take account of a man" who is not acting and acquiring the so-called good things with justice, and indeed being such a man as "standing hard by might reach the enemy" and being unjust not dare to "look upon bloody slaughter", nor defeat "Thracian Boreas in running" nor ever have any of the so-called good things, for the things called good by the masses are not called rightly.</p>

580 F 12d Commentary

See 580 F 12c.

580 F 13 GALEN de plac. Hippocr. et Plato 3.3.25-28	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="13"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history; Medicine Historical Work: unknown Source date: 129-199 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐξ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου	For just as I set out in brief shortly before

βραχέα παρεθέμην ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν ὧν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἔγραψεν, οὕτως ἐξ Ὀρφέως καὶ Ἑμπεδοκλέους καὶ Τυρταίου καὶ Στησιχόρου καὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐτέρων ποιητῶν ἐπῶν μνημονεύει παμπόλλων ὁμοίαν ἐχόντων ἀτοπίαν, οἷον καὶ ὅταν εἴπῃ Τυρταῖον λέγοντα «αἰθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν. » ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λέων θυμόν, ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι Τυρταίου γινώσκουμεν, οὐ μὴν Χρυσίππῳ γ' ἔπρεπε παραθέσθαι τὸ ἔπος ἀφαιρουμένῳ τοῦς λέοντας τὸν θυμόν ... Τυρταῖος δέ γε, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ ποιηταί, σφοδρότατον ἔχειν φησὶ τοῦς λέοντας τὸν θυμόν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἂν ᾗ θυμοειδέστατος, εἰκάζουσι λέοντι•

what Chrysippos noted down from Homer and Hesiod, in this way he cites from Orpheus, Empedokles, Tyrtaios, Stesichoros, Euripides, and other poets, many having similar absurdity, such as when he mentions Tyrtaios saying, “with a tawny lion’s spirit in his breast”. For that the lion has spirit, we all know perfectly even before we hear it from Tyrtaios, and it was not fitting for Chrysippos to cite the verse when denying lions a spirit ... But Tyrtaios, like Homer and Hesiod and to speak in short all poets, says lions have the most violent spirit, and so they liken a lion to any man who is high spirited.

580 F 13 Critical apparatus

εἰπῇ codd.; ἐπαινῇ Müller; εἴπῃ West

ἐν στήθεσσι ἔχων ταλαπενθέα θυμόν or θυμός ἐνὶ στήθεσσι Gentili-Prato; ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν West

580 F 13 Commentary

This fragment of Tyrtaios was recorded as a testimonium by Prato, but it is clearly a paraphrase of Tyrtaios’ words and was therefore included as fragment by West. Galen here again criticises the Stoic philosopher Chrysippos for his tendency to quote Tyrtaios and other authors. On this occasion he almost quotes Tyrtaios, claiming that he, like Homer and Hesiod likens high-spirited men to lions.

Lonsdale claims, “the lion, essentially identical with the war hero, is the animal simile *par excellence*” (S.H. Lonsdale, *Creatures of Speech. Lion, Herding, and Hunting Similes in the Iliad* (Stuttgart 1990), 1), and lions are commonly mentioned in epic and elegy (Hesiod, *Theogony* 1007, speaks of “lion-spirited” Achilles, and in the *Shield* 426 says Herakles was “like a lion”; Homer compares Achilles (*Iliad* 7.228, 24.41, 572) Menelaos (*Iliad* 3.23, 17.656), Diomedes (*Iliad* 5.161), Agamemnon (*Iliad* 11.129), Aeneas (*Iliad* 5.299), and Sarpedon (*Iliad* 12.294) with lions. The lion is also a common image in Sparta, and many Spartans are attested with leonine (‘leontiphoric’) names, e.g. Leonidas, Leon, Leonymos, Antileon, Euryleon, Euryleonis, Argileonis, Gorgoleon (N. Richer, ‘Elements of the Spartan Bestiary in the Archaic and Classical Periods, in A. Powell and S. Hodkinson (eds), *Sparta: The Body Politic* (Swansea 2010), 12-3).

Intriguingly, given the frequency with which Hesiod and Homer refer to lions, this is the only hint we have that Tyrtaios mentioned lions, and it is actually the only reference to animals in

the whole of Tyrtaios' surviving fragments (Richer, 'Spartan Bestiary', 2). This is perhaps because Tyrtaios focuses much more on collective success rather than individual prowess.

For more criticism of Chrysippos for his quoting of Tyrtaios see 580 T 42a-c.

580 F 14 PLUTARCH, MORALIA 1039e	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="14"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history; Medicine Historical Work: unknown Source date: 129-199 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
καὶ μὴν οὐχ ἕτερα δεῖ βιβλία διειλῆσαι τοῦ Χρυσίππου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνδεικνυμένους μάχην, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ποτὲ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντισθένης ἐπαινῶν προφέρεται τὸ δεῖν κτᾶσθαι νοῦν ἢ βρόχον καὶ τοῦ Τυρταίου τὸ «πρὶν ἀρετῆς πελάσαι τέρμασιν ἢ θανάτου»	It is not necessary to unroll other books of Chrysippos showing him in conflict with himself, since in these books themselves he now cites the saying of Antisthenes for praise, that there is need to acquire intelligence or a noose, and that of Tyrtaios: "before drawing near to the ends of excellence or death".

580 F 14 Critical apparatus

πρὶν γ' Brunck

580 F 14 Commentary

Plutarch here in the essay *On Stoic self-contradictions* comments on the fact that the Stoic philosopher Chrysippos quoted Tyrtaios' poetry. Whereas Galen criticised Chrysippos for over-quoting, Plutarch is criticising Chrysippos for contradicting himself in the quotations he makes.

Tyrtaios' wording here – "drawing near to the ends of excellence or death" – seems in keeping with the sentiments expressed in F 10, F 11, and F 12 where the Spartans youths are exhorted not to prize their life too highly.

The Antisthenes mentioned here was a fifth- and fourth-century BC Athenian philosopher. He was an adherent of Socrates (Xenophon, *Symposium* 8.4, *Memorabilia* 3.11.17) who argued that happiness was based on virtue (*aretē*).

580 F 15 DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS Oration 2.59	meta[[id="580" type="F" n="15"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history; Historical Work: unknown Source date: 40-120 AD Historian's date: 7th century BC	Translation

Historical period: 7th century BC	
<p>ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι τὴν παρακλητικὴν, οἷα ἢ τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἐμβατηρίων, μάλα πρέπουσα τῇ Λυκούργου πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκείνοις· ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου / κοῦροι πατέρων πολιητῶν, / λαιᾶ μὲν ἵτυν προβάλεσθε, / δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως πάλλοντες, / μὴ φειδόμενοι τᾶς ζωᾶς· οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τᾷ Σπάρτα.</p>	<p>But still I think that exhortation, such as that of Lakedaimonian marching songs, is well suited to the Lykourgan constitution and to the customs there: Come on! Youths of Sparta abounding in good men, sons of citizen fathers, thrust the shield in your left hands, brandishing your spear boldly, not sparing your lives, for that is not the Spartan ancestral custom.</p>

580 F 15 Critical apparatus

Σπάρτης Codd.

πάλλοντες Dio; Βάλλοντες Tzetzes

580 F 15 Commentary

Although Dio Chrysostomos does not explicitly state that Tyrtaios is the author of this fragment, our suspicions are confirmed by Tzetzes. For more on this see 580 T 19a. If it is an authentic Tyrtaios work, Dio's claim that it was one of the Spartan marching songs matches what Athenaeus tells us (see 580 T14).

This fragment written in anapaestic dimeters is often dismissed as “spurious” (e.g. D.E. Gerber, *Euterpe: An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegaic, and Iambic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1970), 69; M.L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* (Oxford 1992), 179, notes “Tyrtaeo adscripsisse videntur aliqui”), but accepted by others (e.g. E. Bowie, ‘Aristides and early Greek lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry’, in W.V. Harris, B. Holmes (eds.), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the gods* (Leiden 2008), 13, who argues that the scholiast “plausibly identifies” it as a poem by Tyrtaios). Given Arethas’ reputation for mastery of Hellenic doctrine (see 580 T 20b) his opinion that these words do belong to Tyrtaios should not be discounted lightly.

The exhortation to the youths of Sparta to thrust their shield forward and brandish their spear is consistent with the portrayal of warfare in F 10, F 11 and F 12, as is the claim that not sparing their lives is not the Spartan way. As noted at T 13b, the sentiments expressed here match the Spartan saying recorded by Plutarch (580 T 14a-c) that Tyrtaios was “A good one to slaughter the lives of young men”.

580 F 15a TZETZES Chil. 1.26	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="15" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: 12th century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation

ὥς Δίων ὁ Χρυσόστομος οὕτω που γράφει λέγων· «Ἄγετ' ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου κοῦροι πατέρων, λαιᾶ μὲν ἵτυν προβάλλεσθε, δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως βάλλοντες, μὴ φείδεσθε ζωᾶς· οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τᾷ Σπάρτα. »	as Dio Chrysostomos somewhere writes of this saying, “Come on! Sons of Sparta, abounding in good men, sons of your fathers, thrust the shield in your left hands, brandishing your spear boldly (and) do not spare your lives; for that is not the Spartan hereditary custom”.
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580 F 15a Commentary

See 580 F 15.

580 F 16 Hephaest. Ench. Viii 4, p.25-26c = Carmina Popularia 857	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="16"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy; Military history Historical Work: unknown Source date: 2nd century AD Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
τὸ μέντοι τὸν σπονδεῖον ἔχον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἀνάπαιστον παραλήγοντα εἰσὶν οἱ Λακωνικὸν καλοῦσι, προφερόμενοι παράδειγμα τὸ “ἄγετ' ὦ Σπάρτας ἔνοπλοι κοῦροι / ποτὶ τὰν Ἄρεως κίνασιν.”	However, the meter carrying a spondee but not an anapaest in its penult is what they call a “Lakonian” putting forward this example: “Come, O armed Spartan youths, to the dance of Ares”.

580 F 16 Critical apparatus

Ἄρεος Codd.DI; κίνησιν Cod.I

580 F 16 Commentary

Like 580 F15, this fragment preserved by the second-century AD Alexandrian grammarian Hephaestion does not actually name Tyrtaios as the author. But this time we do not have a helpful scholiast to assist in identifying Tyrtaios as the author.

That Tyrtaios mentions Ares three times in other fragments (F 10 “much-lamented Ares”; F 11 “furious Ares”; F19 “Ares Bane of men”) helps the case for Tyrtaios as the author. But the fact that the Spartan youths are called κοῦροι in F 15 and F 16, but νέοι in F 10 and F 11 counts against it.

580 F 17 Georgius Choeroboscus, Scholia in Hephaestionem 196	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="17"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 9th century AD	Translation

Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	
<p>εὐρίσκεται δ' ἀπλῶς ἐν μέσῳ λέξεως κοινὴ καὶ ἐν παλινβακχείῳ, ὥς καὶ παρὰ Τυρταίῳ — — ἥρωες — — — — — οὕτω γὰρ ἔλαβε τὸν δεύτερον πόδα τοῦ στίχου.</p>	<p>An anceps syllable is generally found in the middle of a word and in a palimbacchius (— —), as in Tyrtaios: — — heroes — — — — — since he so scanned the second foot of the line.</p>

580 F 17 Commentary

The scholiast here indicates that Tyrtaios uses the metrical foot — — (an antibacchius or palimbacchius meaning “reversed”) where the usual dactylic metrical foot — — is expected. This seems to be a variant of ‘correction’ with the omega metically shortened (K. Rockwell, ‘Tyrtaeus: Bits of a Possible Career’, *The Classical Bulletin* 52 (1975), 76).

West explains that whereas an elegaic couplet would normally follow the pattern — — — — — | — — — — — || sometimes a final long vowel or diphthong is shortened when the next word begins with a vowel. It is often concealed by spelling, e.g. νῆες becoming νέες. West argues that “the elegaic, iambic, and melic poet provide occasional examples”, and cites Tyrtaios’ use of γεραῖός (F 10) and this example recorded as ἥρωος alongside examples from Archilochos, Hipponax, Stesichoros, Pindar, and Bacchylides (M.L. West, *Introduction to Greek Metre* (Oxford 1987), 14).

580 F 18 M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="18"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: Mythical past?	Translation
[---- α]γαλλομένη / [----]α καὶ κροκόεντα / <i>desunt versus tres</i> / [----]πρ[. .(.)].[.]y / [---- τερ]άεσσι Διός	... exulting (fem.)/ ...and saffron-coloured / <i>three missing lines</i> / ...by (or “with” ?) portents of Zeus

580 F 18 Critical apparatus

ἀ(τι)]ταλλομένη? West

]άεσσι Gentili-Prato; τερ]άεσσι West

580 F 18 Commentary

There is very little to say about this meagre fragment.

The term κροκόεντα is used by Sappho (F 92 Lobel and Page) and Theokritos (Book 9 Epigram 338).

Zeus is mentioned in four other fragments of Tyrtaios (F 2, F 3, F 23a).

580 F 19 M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="19"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC?	Translation
[.[.ι.] .οσ[. -τ]ῆράς τε λίθων κα[ι .]ν ἔθνεσιν εἰδομ[ένους . βρ]οτολοιγὸς Ἄρης ακ[.]θεΐηι, τοὺς δ' ὑπερα[.][.]ν εἰκότες η[.....]αι κοίλῃς ἀσπίσι φραζάμ[ενοι, χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἡδ[ὲ Δυμῶνες, ἀνδροφόνους μελίας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι.]δ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐπὶ πάντ[α τρέποντες]ατερμ...ηι πεισόμεθ' ἡγεμ[ό ἀλλ' εὐθὺς σύμπαντες ἀλοιησ<έο>[μεν ἀ]νδράσιν αἰχμηταῖς ἐγγύθεν ἰσ[τάμενοι. δεινὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔσται κτύπος[ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους ἀσπίσι τυπτ[.]ήσουσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι π[εσόντες· θώρηκε]ς δ' ἀνδρῶν στήθεσιν ἀμ[φι λοιγὸ]ν ἐρωήσουσιν ἐρεικόμενοι[ι αἱ δ' ὑπὸ] χερμαδίων βαλλόμεναι μ[εγάλων χάλκεια]ι κ[όρυ]θες καναχὴν ἔξουσ[ι	---- / hurlers (?) of stones and [----] / seeming like nations [----] / [----] Ares Bane of men [----] / (?) [----] / [----] resembling [-- --] / [----] having made a fence with hollow shields, / Pamphyloi, Hylleis and [Dynameis] separately, / brandishing in their hands murderous ash. / [----] and to the immortal gods in everything [turning?] / [--- -] (?) we will obey our leaders [----] / But at once all together we will smite (?) / standing close to the men fighting with spears. / The din (?) on both sides will be terrible [----] / striking [----] round shields on shields / [----] falling upon each other they will [----] / [breastplates] firm round men's chests, / will escape destruction while rushing forth [----] / bronze helmets / being struck by great stones will ring out [----]

580 F 19 Critical apparatus

βλητ]ήρας Snell;]ῆρας Gentili-Prato; -τ]ῆράς West

κα[ι τοξότας ἄνδρας West

Ὑλλεῖς Snell; Ὑλλεῖς West

ὄκνου] ἄτερ μονίη . . . ἡγεμ[όνων Wilamowitz

αλοιησευ[pap.; ἀλοιησ<έο>[μεν West

τυπ[ομένων Wilamowitz

580 F 19 Commentary

Although this section of the papyrus is not in good condition there is much of historical significance that can be gleaned from the text:

1. This fragment is the earliest attestation of the three Dorian tribes at Sparta (P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300 to 362 BC*² (London 2002), 109; N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 29-30; J.F. Lazenby, *The Spartan Army* (Warminster 1985), 51). According to Ephoros, Pamphyloi, Hylleis and Dynameis were the three Dorian tribes: “For Aigimios, who was King of the Dorians about Mount Oite, had two sons, Pamphylos and Dymas, and he adopted as a third Hyllos, the son of Herakles, repaying a favour for when the latter had restored him to his home after he had been exiled” (Ephoros *BNJ* 70 F 15 = Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δυμᾶνες). For more on the Dorian tribes see Fr. Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* (München 1979), 206-313, and J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge 1997), 56-65, and (without reference to Sparta) N.F. Jones, ‘The Order of the Dorian Phylai’, *Classical Philology* 75 (1980), 197-215.

2. The line “having made a fence of hollow shields” is not only formulaic, it is very much reminiscent of a hoplite phalanx. For more on Tyrtaios’ poetry as evidence of the development of hoplite warfare see F 11.

3. The term used for spearmen here - αἰχμηταί - is used frequently in Archaic and Classical poetry (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Pindar, Simonides). But it is comparatively rare in a Spartan context, appearing only here, in F 5, and a Lakonian grave stele from the second century BC commemorating Botrichos, an Arkadian mercenary Botrichos who served with the Spartans, died, and was buried in Sparta by his (Spartan?) wife Timo (*IG* V 1 724; cf. A.S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., to the sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396* (Munich 1977), 414).

4. Tyrtaios’ comments on the noise of battle, noting that “the din on both sides will be terrible”, and that “bronze helmets / being struck by great stones will ring out”. Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.5.18) talks of men clanging spears against shields, and the noise of missiles hitting armour (*Anabasis* 4.3.28). Hanson suggests that the noise here comes from the clashing of shields (V.D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1989), 153), but the line “bronze helmets / being struck by great stones will ring out” suggests that Tyrtaios has something else in mind.

5. The line “we will obey our leaders” is reminiscent of F 2 where Tyrtaios exhorts the Spartans, “Let us obey” which is perhaps a reference to the kings. Gerber suggests “let us obey (the kings since they are?) nearer to the race (of the gods?)” (D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), 37-9).

6. The “hurlers of stone” mentioned here also appear in F 11, and a stone-thrower is depicted on a pithos from sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis*

Orthia at Sparta: Excavated and Described by Members of the British School at Athens, 1906-1910 (London 1929), pl. XV, XVI).

7. The war-god Ares mentioned in other fragments (F 10 and F 11).

580 F 20 M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="20"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC?	Translation
[Διονύσο]ιο τιθήνη [-κό]μου Σεμέλης [] []ωεμψ.[...]σει [] [].[] []μενη[] [].[.].[.]εικελον[.][] []α φέρειν [ἀ]εθλοφ[ό]ροι περὶ νίκης [τέ]ρμ' ἐπιδερκόμενοι [καλ]λίτροχον ἄρμα φέροντες []όμενοι []εύοντας ὀπισθεν []χαίτας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς [] συνοίσομεν ὅξυν ἄρηα [].θεσσιν.[.].[] []ο]ὐδὲ λογήσει []σέχων[--- nurse of Dionysos / ---- of (fair)-haired Semele [--] / <i>five untranslated lines</i> / [---] to carry / winning the prize for victory / looking on the goal / [--] conveying a well-wheeled chariot / <i>untranslated line</i> / [----] behind / loose hair above the head / we will come together in keenly contested war / <i>untranslated line</i> / he will take no account of / <i>untranslated line</i>

580 F 20 Critical apparatus

τιθήνη or τιθήνην or τιθήνης West

καλλικό]μου Wilamowitz

έμψε[λίω]σει West

καλ]λίτροχον West

ν]εύοντας or χ]εύοντας West

580 F 20 Commentary

This fragment is far too damaged for much comment, but a few points need to be clarified:

1. “Nurse of Dionysos” is perhaps a reference to Mt Nyssa (D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999), 69 n1), and “Fair-haired Semele” is clearly a reference to Dionysos’ mother. This suggests that Dionysos was invoked in some way here. Strabo (8.5.1) describes a temple of Dionysos at Limnai; Pausanias describes a statue of Dionysos with the infant Hermes in the Spartan *agora* (3.11.11), a temple of Dionysos Kolonates (“of the knoll”) not far from the *agora* (3.13.7), and a “Winged” (*Psilax*) Dionysos at Amyklai (3.19.6). Sosibios *BNJ* 595 F10 mentions a Dionysos of the Fig. For more on the cult of Dionysos at Sparta see R. Parker, ‘Demeter, Dionysus and the Spartan Pantheon’, in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, G. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988), 99-104.

2. “looking on the goal” is a reworking of a simile in the *Iliad* 22.162-6. But whereas Homer uses the simile to enhance the image of Achilles and Hektor racing around the walls of Troy just as racehorses round the *terma* Tyrtaios here has the *terma* “directly ahead” (M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 187).

3. “conveying a well-wheeled chariot”- this is the only attested use of the term καλλίτροχον in Greek literature. Equestrian competition was an important part of Spartan life (see S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (Swansea 2000), 303-333), but the wording of F 12 – “I would not call to mind or take account of a man / not for his running prowess and not for the wrestler’s art...” – makes it seem unlikely that Tyrtaios would have been praising horse-racing prowess here.

4. “loose hair above the head” – this is either a reference to the horses conveying the chariot, or a reference to the crest of a helmet (Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry*, 69 n4). For other references to helmets see F 11 and F 18.

5. “We will come together in keenly contested war” – as he does in F10, F 11, and F 12 – Tyrtaios again emphasises the need for solidarity.

6. “he will take no account” ([ο]ὐδὲ λογήσει) – this is a neologism derived from ἀλογήσε in Homer, *Iliad* 15.162 (West, *Studies*, 188).

580 F 21 M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="21"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC?	Translation
χαλκ[ουδεμ[πιπτ[μαρνα[Ἀργέσ[τ ὄσσους [Ἀργέσ[τ	<i>Fifteen untranslated lines / but gods (?) / in whose care is Sparta, charming city, / two untranslated lines</i>

ἄλλαρ[εστη..[[ω[ημελ[ουταρ[ἀλλὰ θερι.[οἷσι μέλει Σ[πάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις .[...].[φοι[
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580 F 21 Critical apparatus

ἀργε[- Gentili-Prato; Ἀργέσ[τ West

ὅσους [γάρ τ' ἀθέρας φορέει μεγάλης ἀπ' ἀλωῆς] Ἀργέσ[της, τόσους...] West

οἷσι μέλει σ[Gentili-Prato; οἷσι μέλει Σ[πάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις] West

φ,ι Gentili-Prato; Φοιβ or φοι[West

580 F 21 Commentary

Almost nothing can be said about this fragment.

Ἀργέσ[τ--] is an epithet of the South Wind in the *Iliad* 11.306, and the West Wind in Hesiod, *Theogony* 379 (D.E. Gerber, *Greek Elegaic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge MA 1999, 69). West speculates that the defeated enemy were compared to clouds, leaves, or chaff scattered by a cleansing wind as in *Iliad* 11.304-309 (M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 188).

The reading οἷσι μέλει Σ[πάρτης ἡμερόεσσα πόλις (“in whose care is Sparta, charming city”) is based on F 4.

580 F 22 M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="22"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: unknown	Translation
[---],ιον [---] [---] [---] [---]αι	<i>Five untranslatable lines.</i>

580 F 22 Commentary

Nothing of value can be added here.

580 F 23 M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="23"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century BC Historian's date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
ο.[..]στερ[ἐξείης πα[τειχος α.[.]οστη[οισ.μπαλλόμε[κληρος καὶ ταφ[Μεσσηνίων [τειχος τερυ[οὶ μὲν γὰρ β[ἀντίοι ἰστ[α οὶ δ' ἐκτὸς [βελέων ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἡμεῖς σ.[πύργου δυ[λείγουνσ' ἰλη[δὸν οὶ δ' ὥς ἐκ πο[κυ[.]αδ[τοῖς ἵκελοι μ[Ἥρης αἰδοίης [εὗτ' ἂν Τυνδαρί[δαι	... / one after another ... / wall ... / ... / allotment of land and tomb (?) ... / of the Messenians ... / wall ... / for those ... / standing (?) face to face ... / and others beyond [the range of missiles ...] / and in the middle we ... / of a tower ... / they will leave in hordes .../ and like those from ... / ... / like them ... / of revered Hera ... / whenever the Tyndaridai ...

580 F 23 Critical apparatus

οἷς ἐμπαλλόμε[νοι νῦν εἵεται, αἱ κεν ἐκάστῳ] κληρος καὶ τάφ[ος ἧ καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω West

τάφ[ρος Wilamowitz; τάφ[ος West

580 F 23 Commentary

There are several points of significance in this very fragmentary text.

1. This fragment provides us with our one clear reference to the Messenians as the enemy (N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 42). Without this reference we could not be certain that Tyrtaios was actually writing about the Messenian wars.

2. The references to “wall” and “tower” imply some sort of siege warfare, and may indicate that the Messenians were trapped in some sort of fortress (M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 188). Pausanias claims that the Spartans besieged the Messenians at Ampheia (4.5.9) and at Mt. Eira (4.18.11). It is therefore possible that Tyrtaios is referring to one of these events.

3. “kleros and taphos?” – West (*Studies*, 4-5) links this to F 12 and speculates that this would have read along the lines of “on whether each will have his land, his grave and his descendants for the future”.

4. “They will leave in hordes” reminds the reader of F 5 where the Messenians abandoned Methone.

5. West speculates that κν[.]αδ[–] might have read κν[φ]αλ[έοι] “heads bowed in subjection” and relates to the defeated Messenians (West, *Studies*, 15).

6. “revered Hera” – the consort of Zeus and queen of the gods of Olympos is also mentioned in F 4.

7. “whenever the Tyndaridai” – the Tyndaridai are the Dioskouroi, Castor and Pollux (Polydeukes), the sons of the Spartan king Tyndareus (e.g. Pindar, *Pythian* 1.67, Plutarch, *Theseus* 32, Diod. 4.48.6). According to some versions of the myths Kastor was mortal, while his brother Pollux was the immortal son of Zeus. When Kastor died they were allowed to share Polydeukes’ immortality on alternate days, one at Olympos, and one at Therapne in Lakonia where the Spartans worshipped them (Pausanias 3.20.2; Homer, *Odyssey* 11.301; Pindar, *Pythian* 11.61-4; Pindar, *Nemean* 10.54-8. For more see R. Parker, ‘Spartan Religion’, in A. Powell (ed.), *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind Her Success* (London 1989), 147).

According to Herodotos (5.75) images of the Tyndaridai accompanied the Spartan army into battle. When the Spartans made the decision to keep one king at home after the debacle caused by Demaratos’ abandonment of the Spartan attack on Athens in 504 BC this was seen as advantageous because one of the Tyndaridai would remain at home with him. It is possible therefore that Tyrtaios is here referring not only to the Dioskouroi but also the kings of Sparta who appear prominently in 580 F 4 and F 5.

580 F 23a M.L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1972	meta [[id="580" type="F" n="23" n-mod="a"]]
Subject: Genre: Elegy Historical Work: unknown Source date: 3rd century AD Historian’s date: 7th century BC Historical period: 7th century BC	Translation
].[].εῦτ[]......[]......ῥε.ῥ[].οὐροῖσανδ[].ο.[.]ῥε. χ[].....[.....].[<i>Eight untranslatable lines / beyond (?)</i> <i>much ... / ... savage missiles (?) ... / grey-eyed daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus ... /</i> <i>many with their whittled javelins ... / with sharp points of spears (or “javelins”) ... men</i> <i>turning (?) ... / light-armed troops running forward ... / ... Argive(s) (?) ... / ... along the</i>

(eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 47 (London 1980), 5), and Kennell argues that it “probably” reads Arkadians (N. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History* (Malden MA 2010), 42), Ogden (*Aristomenes*, 179) has noted that the reading is “slightly insecure”. But it is more than “slightly” insecure, and is actually very speculative. Coles and Haslam themselves noted that εικάδας, οἴκαδ’ ἐς, and ὤκαδ’ ἐς were possibilities, as is δεκάδες (note the τριηκάδας at Sparta mentioned by Herodotos 1.65.5), μηκάδες (see Homer, *Iliad* 11.383, 23.31), or even τοκάδες.

The assumption that this is a clear reference to Argives is not proven either. It could be adjectival, or it could be a reference to either of the well known heroes Argeios. One was a companion of Herakles (Apollodoros 2.156), the other according to Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F 132): “Argeios son of Pelops came to Amyklas at Amyklai, and he married Amyklas’ daughter Hegesandra. From this man were born Melanion and Alektor and Boethoös, from whom is descended Eteoneus’. Eteoneus was kin to Menelaos and his servant, as Patroklos was to Achilles”.

Moreover the historicity of the alliance at this time has long been doubted. Jacoby (*FGrH* 265) suggested that the coalitions described by Strabo might be traced back to Theban historiography from the time of Epaminondas. More recently Tausend has demonstrated that this list of allies bears a remarkable resemblance to the allies who fought alongside the Messenians against the Spartans after the liberation in Messenia in 370 BC. (K. Tausend, *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie. Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart 1992), 145-61; Luraghi, describes Tausend’s argument as a “brilliant demonstration”), and he has gone on to argue that the reference to Argives in the papyrus cannot serve as a support for the fictitious Koalitionsbildungen mentioned by Pausanias and Strabo in the Messenian wars (N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 79 n35). It could just as easily involve the “Battle at the Great Trench” (K. Tausend, ‘Argos und der Tyrtaios papyrus *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3316’, *Tyche* 8 (1993), 197-201). For more see F 8.

Some modern scholars link the reference to the trench to Pausanias’ battle at the trench (Coles and Haslam, *Oxyrhynchus*, 3; J. Ducat, ‘Sparte archaïque et classique. Structures économiques, sociales, politiques’, *REG* 96 (1983), 200). But the reading is sufficiently doubtful (the *alpha*, *phi*, *rho*, and *omikron* are all only partial), that it would be injudicious to read too much into this fragmentary text. Shaw even doubts that the trench reference is topographically specific (P-J. Shaw, *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Problems in Archaic Peloponnesian Dating* (Stuttgart 2003), 165).

Other modern scholars use this fragment as evidence in the ongoing debate about the origins of hoplite warfare. Like F 10, F 11, and F 12 this fragment has considerable bearing on how we understand the development of hoplite warfare, with the presence of the *gymnomachoi* cited as evidence that the Spartan hoplite phalanx is by no means fully developed (H. Singor, ‘War and International Relations’, in K.A. Raaflaub and H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Malden MA 2009), 591; H. van Wees ‘The Development of the Hoplite Phalanx: Iconography and Reality in the Seventh Century’, in H. van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (London 2000), 151). For more see 580 F 11. Krentz discusses the line “they will kill all” when considering the ancient Greek ‘rules’ regarding how long flight was pursued in hoplite warfare (P. Krentz, ‘Fighting by the Rules: the Invention of the Hoplite *agōn*’, *Hesperia* 71 (2002), 30-1).

The reading]θήϊσιν is problematic, but is perhaps an allusion to Apollo Parnethos. Coles and Haslam (*Oxyrhynchus*, 5) claimed that the nearest they could offer was [ἐν βυ]θήϊσιν, but παρνεθήϊσιν appears in Hesiod F 185 West, where given that it comes shortly after Phoibos Apollo is probably a reference to Mt Parnes on the border between Attica and Boiotia. Simonides (Fragment 35 Campbell) mentions Apollo Parnethos, and an Apollo Parnessios is attested epigraphically (*IG ii*² 1258, 24) There were altars of Apollo and Zeus there (Pausanias 1.32.2), and the Athenian *pythaistai* are said to have taken an offering to Delphi if they observed lightning cast by Zeus from Parnes (Strabo 9.2.11).

The reference to “water” is unclear, but Coles and Haslam (*Oxyrhynchus*, 6) have noted that driving rain plays a big part in Pausanias’ account of Hira.

The fact that Athena appears twice in this short fragment is surely significant. She appears once as “grey-eyed daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus”, a wording which appears frequently in epic, e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 13, Homer, *Iliad* 2.491-2, Homer, *Odyssey* 3.42. Later in the same fragment she appears merely as “grey-eyed Athena”. Tyrtaios also mentions Athena in F 2.

580 Biographical Essay

Writing a biographical essay for Tyrtaios is an awkward task. Tyrtaios’ antiquity, genre, and overall mystique as one of a tiny number of actual Spartan authors have created an almost impenetrable aura about him. What we can say for certain is that Tyrtaios was an elegist and aulete who wrote the *Eunomia*, martial exhortatory elegies (ὑποθήκαι), and war songs (μέλη πολεμιστήρια), which the *Suda* claimed totalled five books. All together some 250 lines of these have been preserved in quotations and papyri. Tyrtaios is said to have been a Spartan general, and to have led the Spartans in battle against the Messenians after they revolted in the early seventh century BC (Athenaeus 14.630F; Diod. 8.36). But his actual role is not entirely clear, and his credentials as a *bona fide* Spartan were doubted in antiquity, as early as the mid-fourth century BC (see Plato 580 F 12a).

We can speak with most confidence about what Tyrtaios wrote. The poem known by the title Εὐνομία “Good Order” was written in elegiac metre, and was written during the Messenian Wars. The war songs are said to have been sung by the Spartans on the march (Athenaeus 14.630f; Plut. *Lykourgos* 21), and the battle exhortations urged the Spartans to fight bravely against the enemy. Both owe their origins to the period of the Messenian Wars, but were used by the Spartans for centuries afterwards. A common theme in these works is the notion of death before dishonour, and fragment 10 (= *Lykourgos*, *Against Leokrates* 107) has popularised the notion of the Spartan “beautiful death” (for more see N. Loraux, ‘The Spartans’ “Beautiful Death”’, in N. Loraux (ed.), *The Experiences of Tiresias: the Feminine and the Greek Man* (Princeton 1995), 77-91 = ‘La belle mort spartiate’, *Ktema* 2 (1977), 105-120). Aside from F 10, most of the largest fragments have only been preserved in much later writers such as Stobaeus, Galen, and a handful of papyri.

We can speak with somewhat less confidence about the man himself. Providing a date for Tyrtaios is difficult. What Luraghi calls the “canonical version” of early Spartan history (N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008), 79) held that Tyrtaios led the Spartans in the second Messenian War. According to this version of the story, the conquest of Messenia took place in the late eighth century BC, and Tyrtaios said that the war took place in the time

of the fathers of fathers. This would place Tyrtaios (and the Second Messenian War) in the first half of the seventh century BC. Thus later writers like Pausanias (4.23.1) could provide a date for the final conquest of Messenia as the twenty-eighth Olympiad = (668-665 BC). But the *Suda* (s.v. Τυρταῖος, 1205) despite telling us that Tyrtaios was “very ancient”, dates him to the thirty-fifth Olympiad (640-637 BC).

We cannot be certain about Tyrtaios’ origin either. Although the *Suda* provides Tyrtaios with a patronymic – Archembrotos – and claims that he was either Lakedaimonian or Milesian, the majority of our sources record Tyrtaios as Athenian (Plato, *Laws* 629A; Scholiast ad. loc.; Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* 106; Diodoros 8.27.1-2; Pausanias 4.15.6; Philodemos, *On Music* 17). Although the allegation that Tyrtaios was blind, lame, incompetent, and even “deranged” (DL 2.43; Scholiast, Plato, *Laws* 629A-B, Pausanias 4.15.6; the *Suda*) should be dismissed as Athenian propaganda, the claim that Tyrtaios was originally from Athens is not as unflattering to the Spartans as first impressions might suggest. But that does not mean that we should accept the story of Tyrtaios’ Athenian origins, which has been dismissed as “a later invention as lame as the poet was supposed to be” (J.C. Yardley and R. Develin (eds.), *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Atlanta GA 1994), 49 n8). The likeliest solution is that the fourth-century Athenians invented Tyrtaios’ Athenian origins to suit a need to make a connection with the Spartans, and that later writers turned an initially flattering story into an insult.

Rather than a product of Athenian malice, the notion that Tyrtaios was Athenian by birth, might be better explained as pro-Athenian propaganda, or as propaganda designed to smooth relations between Athens and Sparta in the fourth century BC. As noted at Tyrtaios T 1a and F 2, it is possible that Athenian writers were confused by the fact that Tyrtaios was said to come from Aphidna, which could be the Athenian deme or a homonymous settlement in Lakonia. Athenocentric writers could easily have seen the name Aphidna and assumed that meant Tyrtaios was from Athens.

With the possible exception of Alkman, Tyrtaios holds the honour of being the most important Spartan writer, and within the broad genre of historical writing Tyrtaios is undoubtedly the most important Spartan writer. Perhaps the best measure of Tyrtaios’ overall importance is Starr’s claim in his discussion of the dearth of evidence for early Sparta that while the lost historical writings of the Hellenistic writer Sosibios (*FGrH* 595) might enlarge our views, “for my part I would rather have 200 consecutive new lines from Tyrtaeus” (C.G. Starr, ‘The Credibility of Early Spartan History’, *Historia* 14 (1965), 260). If those 200 lines turned out to be Tyrtaios’ description of the so-called Great Rhetra and the Rider (see Tyrtaios F 4) we would be very fortunate indeed.

580 Bibliography

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SubSection head

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